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## PINDAR, *PYTHIAN II*

By C. M. BOWRA

**P***YTHIAN II* is full of mysteries. In spite of research and argument there is still no agreement about its occasion, its date, its topical references and its meaning. Yet if we state the problems clearly and examine them in the light of what we know about Pindar's life and art, they do not seem to be beyond solution. Indications of the poem's purpose are obscure and open to various interpretations, but if we collect them and survey them, they seem to lead to a single coherent conclusion.

### I

In Alexandria there were several views of the victory which the poem celebrates. It was variously thought to be at the Olympian, the Pythian, the Nemean and the Panathenaic Games.<sup>1</sup> The mere fact of this disagreement is enlightening. It shows that the learned men of the Library, in spite of all the material at their disposal, had no clear idea when the poem was written. Their opinions, like ours, were conjectural. In their lists of athletic victories they can have found nothing which explained the poem or Hieron's success as it is here announced. Where they differed, the moderns also have naturally differed. Boeckh placed the poem near to 477 and suggested that it celebrated a victory won at Thebes;<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz favoured a date near to 470 and argued that it was written for Hieron's victory in the Pythian Games of that year, for which *Pythian I* was, so to speak, the official ode;<sup>3</sup> Farnell thought that its occasion was some local victory at Syracuse and left the date unsettled.<sup>4</sup> The poem itself mentions no place and gives ambigu-

<sup>1</sup> *Pyth. II. Inscr.* (p. 31 Drachmann).

<sup>2</sup> *Pindari Opera*, II, i, pp. 240-243.

<sup>3</sup> *Pindaros*, pp. 285-287.

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Pindar*, II, pp. 118-120.

ous indications of time. Any conclusion about either must be hypothetical, and it may well be the case that after all our evidence is insufficient for a conclusion. But such as the evidence is, it is at least consistent and fairly informative.

In 3-12 Pindar makes it perfectly clear that the race is a chariot-race in which Hieron has won a resounding victory. Boeckh's argument that it is not an ordinary chariot-race but one in which fillies were used might seem to get some support from the words ποικιλανίους πώλους of 8. But at 12 Pindar speaks of σθένος ἵππιον and indicates that fully grown horses were used, and actually the reference to πῶλοι is concerned not with the race itself but with Hieron's skilful breaking in of the horses when young — ἀγα-ναῖσιν ἐν χερσιν ἐδάμασσε. There is, then, no reason to believe that the poem is concerned with anything but a chariot-race of the usual kind. The only two occasions known to us when Hieron won an important chariot-race were 470, when he won at Delphi and was celebrated by Pindar in *Pythian I* and by Bacchylides in *Ode IV*, and 468, when he won at Olympia and was celebrated by Bacchylides in *Ode III*. He may of course have won chariot-races in games less important than these. It is perfectly likely that, as Farnell suggests, he won in some local Syracusan Games. But Pindar's language does not suggest that such a victory inspired *Pythian II*. In the first place, he calls the victorious chariot ἐλελίχθων. To apply the traditional epithet of Poseidon to a four-in-hand needed some courage and indicates that the victory was important and caused some stir. A victory in some obscure local games would hardly be called "earth-shaking," and Pindar, who chose his words with care, would hardly use such a word for a victory that was not, after all, classic. In the second place, the victory cannot have been at Syracuse; for Pindar says of it:

εὐάρματος Ἰέρων ἐν ᾧ κρατέων  
τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις (5-6).

"Where Hieron and his good chariot conquered  
And wreathed Ortygia with far-shining crowns."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translations of the Pythian Odes are taken here from *Pindar, Pythian Odes*, by H. T. Wade-Gery and C. M. Bowra, London, The Nonesuch Press, 1928.



Such language is not appropriate to a local Syracusan festival. It implies that the name of Syracuse has been made famous through the victory; therefore, the victory cannot have been in Syracuse and must have been at some games where victory was highly prized and considered throughout Greece to be a glorious achievement.

Nor is it likely that, as Boeckh suggests,<sup>1</sup> the victory was won at Thebes. The Theban Games had scarcely a Panhellenic renown, and success in them was not a first-class event. The mention of Thebes in 3 proves no more than that Pindar sent the poem from there, and it cannot be pressed as evidence for the place of victory. It was therefore with reason that Wilamowitz thought that the victory here praised was won at the Pythian Games of 470. Here indeed was a victory that might well be called 'earth-shaking' and be regarded as bringing honour to Syracuse, and it is by no means inconceivable that Pindar after writing *Pythian I* for public performance at Etna should write *Pythian II* as a private poem of congratulation to Hieron. In 476 he had done something of this kind with *Olympian III* and *Olympian II* for Theron, and on general grounds the writing of two poems for a single victory is not impossible, as *Pythians IV* and *V* written for Arcesilas of Cyrene in 462 show. But to this view there is a grave objection. *Pythian I* was written in a mood of genuine affection and respect for Hieron. He is praised as the deliverer of Hellas from slavery, and he is addressed in terms of intimacy, confidence and admiration. Between him and Pindar there are no subjects of dispute or of suspicion. Pindar indeed gives Hieron a grand and serious lesson on the nature of kingship, but he implies that Hieron is more likely to be like Croesus than like Phalaris, and his closing words indicate that Hieron by his combination of good luck and his gift of keeping it has "won the highest crown." The poem is a song of friendship, a *φίλιος ὕμνος* as Pindar says at 60. In *Pythian II* the atmosphere is very unlike this. There is, it is true, praise of Hieron in it, but this praise is tempered by a sense of grievance, by a feeling that something is not well with Hieron's court and that Pindar has been badly used. On any view the last Triad shows

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

that Pindar is deeply unhappy, feeling that he is the victim of intrigue and injustice and anxious about his relations with Hieron. The easy and confident intimacy of *Pythian I* is far removed from the brooding suspicions of *Pythian II*, and it seems inconceivable that they were written at the same time for the same occasion.

If the Pythian victory of 470 is ruled out for this reason as the occasion of *Pythian II*, there remains an alternative in Hieron's Olympian victory of 468. Here certainly was an event in which the victorious chariot might well be called ἐλελίχθων and be thought to set crowns on Ortygia. Moreover this was a victory to which Pindar had looked forward when in 476 he wrote *Olympian I* for the horse-race and uttered a hope that in due course Hieron would win the chariot-race at Olympia:

ἔτι γλυκυτέρα ν τε ἔλπομαι  
 σὺν ἄρματι θεῶ κλειῖξιν ἐπίκουρον εὐρών ὁδὸν λόγων  
 παρ' εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον. (Ol. I, 109-111)

"I hope that I shall renown you and your swift chariot  
 And find an even sweeter path of words to help you,  
 When I come to Cronus' Hill that stands in the sun."

Among Pindar's Olympian Odes none is concerned with this victory, and it has generally been assumed that the wish expressed in *Olympian I* was not fulfilled. Bacchylides, of course, wrote his *Ode III* for it, but that would not necessarily exclude Pindar from writing another ode. For both in 476 and 470 Bacchylides, no less than Pindar, had celebrated Hieron's victories. And if we apply the process of elimination to Hieron's known chariot-victories, we are forced to admit that the chariot-race of 468 at Olympia may well have been the occasion of *Pythian II*. The fact that the poem appears among the Pythian Odes is not a serious objection to this view. Other poems are wrongly classified, such as *Pythian III*, which is not an Epinician but a poetical letter, and *Nemean XI*, which was composed for a civic festival at Tenedos. The classification means no more than that the Alexandrian editor believed *Pythian II* to be concerned with a Pythian victory, and his evidence for his belief may have been faulty. There may, of course, have

been other chariot-victories won by Hieron of which we know nothing. But none can have been so important as the Olympian victory of 468 and so well deserving of the high praise here bestowed by Pindar on the occasion. And the fact remains that any other such victory was apparently as unknown to the Alexandrian scholars as it is to us. It certainly looks as if *Pythian II* may have been inspired by this Olympian triumph.<sup>1</sup> At least it is reasonable to try to interpret the poem according to this view and to see if it fits the relevant facts.

It must be admitted at once that a serious objection to this date has been raised by those who, like Boeckh, believe that *Pythian II* was written about 477 and base their case on 18-20, where there is an obvious reference to Hieron's deliverance of Locris from some enemy:

σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ,  
 Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων  
 Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,  
 πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων  
 διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.

"But your name, son of Deinomenes,  
 The Girl of Locris-in-the-West  
 Sings on her doorstep; after the toils and despairs of war  
 Because of your strength her eyes were steadfast."

This is taken by the Scholiasts to refer to the time when Hieron's intervention saved Locris from the dangerous policy of Anaxilas of Rhegium,<sup>2</sup> and since Anaxilas died about 476 and Pindar uses the present tense ἀπύει, it has been assumed that the poem cannot be much later than that and may be earlier. Political gratitude is short-lived, and it is claimed that the Locrian songs and Pindar's mention of them must be soon after Hieron's act of deliverance.

<sup>1</sup> This view was advanced by D. S. Robertson in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1924, p. 35. I am deeply indebted to him for the idea but venture to differ from his interpretation on several points, and so far as I know, most of the arguments here used are new.

<sup>2</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. II*, 36b.

But this persuasive reasoning is not founded on incontrovertible facts. In the first place Pindar says no word either of Anaxilas or of Rhegium, and in the confused politics of this decade there may have been other occasions when Hieron took action on behalf of Locris. It is, for instance, quite possible that the enemy from whom Hieron delivered Locris was not Rhegium but Croton.<sup>1</sup> His policy seems to have been to save Croton from becoming too strong for Locris. It may have been with his support that Locris took from Croton the frontier fortress of Temesa,<sup>2</sup> and Crotoniate dislike of Hieron is shown by the fact that a Crotoniate athlete, who was a friend of Hieron, was proclaimed a traitor by his countrymen.<sup>3</sup> In South Italian politics there were many strains and counterstrains, and it is by no means certain that Pindar's words refer to Anaxilas' frustrated attack on Rhegium.

In the second place this interpretation of Pindar's words on the Maid of Locris neglects the context in which they are placed. The praise of Hieron by the grateful Locrians is part of a double sentence whose parts are clearly marked by μέν and δέ. In the first part Pindar says that the Cyprians sing—in the present tense—of good King Cinyras because of their gratitude to him. Cinyras was a contemporary of Agamemnon, and yet he was still remembered in Pindar's time. He had passed into song and earned that immortality which on Pindar's view is given by song. It is surely reasonable to assume that the fame of Hieron at Locris is of this kind. He is still remembered because of the time when he saved the town from its enemies. The songs belong to the present, but the action which inspires them is in the past and therefore Pindar uses the aorist participle δρακεῖσα. Locris had its own school of poetry,<sup>4</sup> and Pindar's words in *Pythian II* indicate that Hieron's achievement of some years back is still a subject for song, just as the far more ancient deeds of Cinyras are still sung in Cyprus. It is therefore quite possible that the words may after all refer to Hieron's intervention against Anaxilas, but they do not speak of it as a re-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pindar, Pythian Odes*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., VI, 7, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Id., VI, 13, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ol. XI*, 18-19, *Athen.*, XV, 697b.

cent event. The songs belong to the present, but the action which created them does not.

The Locrian Maiden cannot, then, be pressed as a witness for an earlier date. She suits 468 just as well as any other date after Hieron's deliverance of Locris. And actually, if *Pythian II* was written in 468, this piece of past history was only a little more remote from the time of Pindar's writing than Salamis and Plataea were from the mention of them in *Pythian I*.<sup>1</sup> With the disappearance of this argument for an earlier date, the chief ground for 477 is removed, and there is no serious argument against *Pythian II* being written late in the course of Pindar's relations with Hieron. The fact, pressed by Gaspar,<sup>2</sup> that in it Hieron is not called βασιλεύς, proves nothing. Actually Pindar almost calls him βασιλεύς. For the comparison between him and Cinyras is introduced by the words:

ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ  
εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν' ἀρετᾶς. (13-14)

"For one or another King a poet makes  
The clear-voiced hymn, the due of his greatness."

And when at 58 Hieron is addressed as:

πρύτανι κύριε πολλῶν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἀγυι-  
ᾶν καὶ στρατοῦ.

"Sovran master of the many streets  
Which crown your city and of a host of men,"

Wilamowitz is surely right in saying that "Hieron first reached this unparalleled fullness of power when he was the single tyrant in Sicily, that is after the fall of the Emmenidae and of Leophron."<sup>3</sup> If the words are to be pressed, they indicate a date later rather than earlier. Hieron is no longer the λαγέτας τύραννος of *Pythian III*, 85. He is πρύτανις and κύριος, because he is the acknowledged leader of the free cities no less than the master of his own dominions.

<sup>1</sup> *Pyth. I*, 75-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronologie Pindarique*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 285.



Additional evidence that the poem was written late in Hieron's reign comes perhaps from the passage where Pindar, after praising his victories in battle, adds the words:

βουλαὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεραι  
ἀκίνδυνον ἐμοὶ ἔπος  
〈σέ〉 ποτὶ πάντα λόγον  
ἐπαινεῖν παρέχοντι. (65b-67)

"Your ripper age's wisdom  
Gives me a theme, where without peril I sound  
The whole gamut of praise."

Here too the full meaning of the words can only be found by examining what precedes them. The δέ of 65b answers the μέν of 63:

νεότατι μὲν ἀρήγει θράσος  
δαινῶν πολέμων.

"Youth asks for courage in the terrors of war."

Both the ripe counsels and the youthful courage must be Hieron's own; he has been brave when young and is now older and wise. The victor of Himera and Cumae has become an Elder Statesman. For what they are worth, the words support a late date in Hieron's life and are more suitable to 468 than to some time like 477.

A small point of style points to a similar conclusion. At 73, after finishing the third Triad of the poem, Pindar carries over the single word *καλός* to the next Triad, and then ends his sentence. The effect is extremely marked and dramatic, and it has few parallels in Pindar's extant work. Both in early poems like *Pythian X* and in late poems like *Pythian VIII* he makes his Triads complete wholes and does not carry sentences over from one Triad to another. In the great Sicilian poems of 476 he often carries words over but never quite in this way of *Pythian II*. The words carried over are several in number, but the effect is far less startling than here. In only three other places does Pindar carry over a single word, as here, and then end a sentence. One case is at *Pythian XI* 51, *ἔρῳ*, but there what follows is closely connected. But in *Olympian IX*, written in this very year of 468, Pindar twice carries over a single word to a new Triad, and both *ἐγένοντ'* at 29 and

νεωτέρων at 49 are precisely parallel in this respect to *καλός* in *Pythian II*. The mannerism does not seem to have pleased Pindar; for it looks as if he abandoned it later. But the fact that he tried it twice in a single poem of 468 and again in *Pythian II* surely helps to fix the date of this poem.

## II

Arguments of this character do not prove that *Pythian II* was written in 468, but at least they show that it may have been written then. As such they provide an introduction to a more important piece of evidence which concerns the meaning of the whole poem. After an appeal to Hieron to find and be himself Pindar says suddenly and mysteriously:

*καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ  
καλός. (72-73)*

“ ‘O that lovely ape!’ cry the children, ‘O how  
Lovely!’ ”

The Scholiasts state that in these words Pindar hints at Bacchylides,<sup>1</sup> but they adduce no evidence for their statement, and it has been disputed. Ancient scholars liked to find personal reference to other poets in familiar poems, and sometimes their explanations of them are quite fanciful. In this case it is really possible that they are right and that Pindar is hinting at Bacchylides, since he hints at him and Simonides in *Olympian II*, 91-97. It is not enough to dismiss the possibility, as Jebb did, by saying that “if Bacchylides was the ape, Pindar must have counted on Hieron failing to identify himself with the child.”<sup>2</sup> For it is reasonable to assume that the children are not Hieron but Pindar’s enemies at Hieron’s court who admire Bacchylides; Hieron himself stands apart from them. But the real difficulty is that no good reason has been found why the title of Ape should fit Bacchylides more than anyone else. If there were something in the Greek view of the Ape which really

<sup>1</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. II*, 131a, 132c, cf. 163b, 166d.

<sup>2</sup> *Bacchylides*, p. 22.

suited Bacchylides with remarkable aptness, we might accept the identification. But current explanations would suit almost anyone who happened to be hostile to Pindar, and of such men there may have been many. The Scholiasts say simply that the Ape, though worthless, is highly honoured by children; Lycophron<sup>1</sup> uses the Ape as a type of ugliness and calls Thersites *πιθηκομόρφω Αἰτωλῷ φθόρῳ*; words like *πιθηκισμός*,<sup>2</sup> *πιθηκίζειν*,<sup>3</sup> *δημοπίθηκος*,<sup>4</sup> indicate that the Ape is a cheat or trickster. All, or any, of these apish characteristics can be made to fit into Pindar's context, but none of them, so far as we know, has any special appropriateness to Bacchylides. They may of course have fitted him, but we cannot say that they did.

There is, however, another view of the Ape which seems to suit Bacchylides, at least from Pindar's point of view. Modern scholars have not noticed it, but once at least in antiquity it was noticed, and it makes excellent sense of the passage. Galen<sup>5</sup> quotes Pindar's words and adds that the Ape is an *ἄθυρμα γελοῖον* to children — *ἀπάσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀνθρωπείους πράξεις ἐπιχειρεῖ μιμείσθαι, σφάλεται δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τὸ γελοῖον*. In other words, the Ape is an imitator. Nor was this an unfamiliar idea to the Greeks. The word *μιμῶ*, given by Suidas as a synonym for *πίθηκος*, shows that it was recognized by popular speech just as the craftiness of the Fox was recognized in the word *κερδῶ*. The imitative Ape was also familiar to literature. Lucian, telling the story of Apes who were taught to dance by the King of Egypt, adds the comment *μιμηλότατα δέ ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων*,<sup>6</sup> and in the *Fables* attributed to Aesop this habit of mimicry is more than once noted.<sup>7</sup> In 304 the Ape imitates the Fishermen, and the author comments *φασὶ γὰρ μιμητικὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο*. In 305 it pretends to the Dolphin that it is a man. In 306 the story of the dancing Apes is told much as by Lucian and with a similar comment. The same view is shown by Oppian, who

<sup>1</sup> *Alex.*, 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph., *Equ.* 887.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, *Thesm.* 1133.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, *Ran.* 1035.

<sup>5</sup> *de Usu Part. I.*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Pisc.*, 36.

<sup>7</sup> References to 'Aesop' are from the edition of E. Chambry, Paris, 1927.



speaks of τρισσὰ γένεθλα, κακὸν μίμημα, πιθήκων,<sup>1</sup> and by Aelian's statement μιμηλότατόν ἐστιν ὁ πίθηκος ζῷον.<sup>2</sup> It is, moreover, implied by Demosthenes' abuse of Aeschines as αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος,<sup>3</sup> where the context shows that Harpocration is right in explaining μιμουμένου μᾶλλον τραγωδοῦς ἢ τραγωδεῖν δυναμένου.<sup>4</sup> Finally the colloquial use of the image at a later date is shown by Seneca's words: "Solebat et Graece dicere ὁ πίθηκός μου. Fuerat enim Argentarius Cesti auditor et erat imitator."<sup>5</sup> These passages show that the Greeks were familiar with the imitative gifts of the Ape and were likely to attribute them to anyone called πίθηκός. In *Pythian II* Pindar introduces the Ape, the Wolf and the Fox. His Fox is crafty, his Wolf violent, and it is not surprising that his Ape should have its well attested character of being imitative.

The accusation of imitativeness could fairly be brought by Pindar against Bacchylides. Clement quotes some lines of his in which he admits that poets have to borrow from their predecessors:

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς  
τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾷστον  
ἄρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας  
ἐξευρεῖν.<sup>6</sup>

Jebb translates: "Poet is heir to poet, now as of old, for in sooth 'tis no light task to find the gates of virgin song."<sup>7</sup> Bacchylides in his frank way admits that at times he has to borrow from other poets. Pindar, on the other hand, made a distinction between the real poet, ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ, and the men who merely learn from others, οἱ μαθόντες.<sup>8</sup> As the contrast is made in a passage where he compares himself with Simonides and Bacchylides, it looks as if in 476, when he wrote it, he dismissed Bacchylides as an imitator or

<sup>1</sup> *Cyn. II*, 605.

<sup>2</sup> *H. A. L*, V, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *de Cor.*, 242.

<sup>4</sup> s.v. τραγικὸς πίθηκός.

<sup>5</sup> *Contr. IX*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Fr. 5 Snell. The words οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾷστον may well be Clement's own, but they must represent what Bacchylides said or meant.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Ol. II*, 86.

at least as a derivative disciple of others. Now, at one period of his life Pindar had good reason for accusing Bacchylides of imitation. In his *Ode III*, written for Hieron's victory in the critical year of 468, Bacchylides surely imitated the famous opening words of *Olympian I*. His point is simple, that it is impossible to regain lost youth, and he precedes this lesson with a series of aphorisms in whose short clauses Jebb saw an imitation of Pindar's style:<sup>1</sup>

βαθὺς μὲν  
αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου  
οὐ σάπεται· εὐφροσύνη δ' ὁ χρυσός. (III, 85-7)

"The deep air  
Is undefiled, the sea's water  
Decays not, and gold is a joy."

Here not merely the short, paratactic phrases but the actual choice of images is surely inspired by the opening words of *Olympian I*:

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ  
ἄτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μέγανορος ἔξοχα πλούτου.

"Water is best, and gold  
Shines like flaming fire at night,  
The crown of a great man's wealth."

Bacchylides names air, water and gold as examples of things which last for ever, in contrast to man's life. Pindar, eight years earlier, had also named water and gold, and four lines later he had mentioned "the empty air." There can be little doubt that Bacchylides, who approved of borrowing, took the images from him.

In 468, when *Ode III* was written, Pindar might well feel a grievance against Bacchylides for copying him. Hieron's victory in the Olympian chariot-race had been anticipated by him, and he had expressed a wish to celebrate it when it came. Moreover the decision must have come unexpectedly to him. Both in 476 and in 470 it was he, and not Bacchylides, who had written the important odes for Hieron's victories. Smarting under a sense of contempt or neglect, he found that his successful rival had looted one of his most

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

famous poems which had been in fact also written for Hieron. For a man of Pindar's sensitiveness this might be bad enough. But the wound was perhaps made worse by the fact that in imitating him Bacchylides had failed to appreciate the true meaning of the opening words of *Olympian I* and had used Pindar's imagery in a new context into which he did not fit them very successfully. The precise meaning of Pindar's images in *Olympian I* has been the occasion of some debate, but their general drift is fairly clear. They are parallels to the glory of an Olympian victory. As such each represents something as supreme in its own way as that victory is in its. But they are more than this. Pindar was always much concerned with explaining the importance which he attached to glory, and above all he regarded it as both bright and lasting. Therefore to illustrate its quality here he chooses images of things which are also bright and lasting.<sup>1</sup> They give his mystical view of the true character of success, and each is chosen for this purpose. Bacchylides fails to appreciate the true purport of Pindar's words. He names air, water and gold simply because of their permanence. He misses the more mystical significance which Pindar attaches to them, and his language is not even entirely adequate to his own simpler message. For when he says *εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός*, he really means, as Jebb points out, "a joy for ever"<sup>2</sup> and should have said *εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσοῦς αἰεὶ*. A poet may legitimately resent the appropriation of his best ideas, but insult is added to injury when they are not properly understood.

<sup>1</sup> For the brightness of water, cf. Aesch., *Supp.*, 23; Eur., *I. A.*, 1294; Callim., *Hymn I*, 19; for its permanence Cleobulus, fr. 1, 2 with Simonides' answer in fr. 48, 2; Aesch., *Supp.*, 553. It is hard to say in what class of things water is supreme. Pindar can hardly have meant the four elements, even if they are older than Empedocles, but he may have meant something of the kind, e.g. all natural things, as in *Ol. III*, 42. For his view of gold cf. *Isthm. V*, 1 ff. and Theognis, 452. For his contrast of the sky to the state of ordinary human life, cf. *Nem. VI*, 3-4. All three images may be to some extent traditional, and the first recalls Christopher Marlowe's:

"Wild savages, that drink of running springs,  
Think water far excels all earthly things,"

but Pindar has deepened their significance by making them emblems of glory. His views on this are excellently discussed by H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf*.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

The plagiarism from *Olympian I* is the most striking piece of imitation from Pindar in Bacchylides' *Ode III*. But there are two other points in which Pindar might have recognized echoes from his own work. At 85 Bacchylides introduces his lesson on the impossibility of recovering lost youth with the words:

φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρυω.

"To one who knows I speak meaning words."

The phrase recalls some word of Pindar written to Theron in 476, when he opened his mysterious account of true and false poets with the words:

πολλά μοι ὑπ'  
ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη  
ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας  
φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν. (*Ol. II*, 83-85)

"In the quiver under my arm  
Are many swift arrows  
That speak to the wise."

Pindar uses not merely mysterious language but almost the language of the mysteries. The *συνετοί* are the members of a religious society who have the esoteric language of their sect, and Pindar addresses Hieron in this way because he wishes to stress the special nature of his communication. His choice of words is justified both by the long passage on the life after death which he has just completed and by the allusive nature of what follows. Hieron, he implies, will understand him, but others will need interpreters. But Bacchylides has no such esoteric message. What he has to say is made perfectly clear almost at once in 88-90. He uses the language of mysteries, but he has nothing esoteric to say. We may almost suspect that he wishes to appear solemn and impressive and chooses a Pindaric phrase to help him in his unusual role. But his natural clarity triumphs, and the message announced so grandly turns out to be quite simple. Here too Pindar might have noticed an echo of his own style and felt that Bacchylides had failed to see the true purport of the words which he borrowed.

Again, Pindar might complain that in *Ode III* Bacchylides had taken and elaborated a theme which had been applied to Hieron two years before in *Pythian I*. There, in his final lesson on the duties of kingship, Pindar had given Croesus as an example of the good king whose virtues are remembered after death:

οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετή. (94)

"The excellent kind heart of Croesus does not perish."

The mention of Croesus in a poem by Pindar is remarkable. Normally his ethical and other parallels are drawn from legendary and heroic history in a distant past. Croesus died some seventy years before *Pythian I* was written, and his presence in it, with that of the contrasted Phalaris, is Pindar's only adaptation of recent history to a moral purpose. It is true of course that Croesus had become a half-legendary figure, as the vase in the Louvre shows. But none the less his presence is matter for surprise, and when Bacchylides elaborated his story into a Myth, he gave the only extant example of a Myth in Greek choral poetry which is not concerned with gods or heroes.<sup>1</sup> In so doing he might lay himself open to the charge that he had taken his idea from Pindar.

In 468, then, Pindar might with reason call Bacchylides an Ape because in that year he seems to have gone a good deal farther than usual in borrowing from the Theban poet. In other poems of Bacchylides there are many passages which recall Pindar, but they may be explained as coming from a common tradition of choral song.<sup>2</sup> It is true that there are certain resemblances between Pindar's Encomium for Thrasybulus of Acragas<sup>3</sup> and Bacchylides' Encomium for Alexander son of Amyntas.<sup>4</sup> Both describe how under the exhilaration of wine men indulge false hopes and pleasant illusions. But here too both may be developing an established theme, and in any case it has to be proved that Bacchylides' poem is later than Pindar's. But Bacchylides' *Ode III* is in a different

<sup>1</sup> Timotheus' *Persae* belongs to a different age and art. His type of Dithyramb has little in common with the authentic choral ode.

<sup>2</sup> The passages are collected by W. K. Prentice, *De Bacchylide Pindari artis socio et imitatore.*, Halle, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 20 B Snell.



class. It is known to be later than *Olympian I*, and we cannot doubt that it has echoes of it. Pindar, feeling that his art had been slighted, ventured to point this out, in none too friendly a manner, to Hieron.

Nor is *Pythian II* the only poem in which Pindar seems to refer to the plagiarising tendencies of Bacchylides. In *Nemean III*, the date of which is not known, he refers to rivals, whom the Scholiasts again identify with Bacchylides:

ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὥκυσ ἐν ποτανοῖς,  
ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθεν μεταμαιόμενος,  
δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσὶν·  
κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται. (80-82)

"The eagle is swift among birds;  
He swoops from afar and seizes at once  
The bloody prey with his claws,  
While the chattering daws fly low."

Here the imagery is different, and the point of comparison is not quite the same. But the intention is similar. Pindar proclaims his superiority to rival poets, because he reaches his goal at once, while they for all their noise never touch the heights. The key of his remarks lies in the word *κολοιοί*, "jackdaws." The Jackdaw was at times accused of imitativeness. 'Aesop,' *Fab.* 5, tells how the Jackdaw tries to imitate the Eagle in seizing a lamb, which it is unable to carry. In *Fab.* 163 it whitens itself to look like a dove. But the Jackdaw is less of an imitator than a thief, who dresses himself up to look like other birds. He is the great example of 'borrowed plumes.' In *Fab.* 162 he puts on the fallen feathers of other birds, and the proverbial character of this activity is shown by Lucian's words *κολοιὸς ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεται*.<sup>1</sup> Where poetry is concerned, there is not much distinction between imitation and borrowing, and when Bacchylides is called a Jackdaw, it means much the same as when he is called an Ape. Pindar's attitude towards him recalls that of Swinburne towards some of his own imitators, of whom he wrote:

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.*, 4. Cf. Hor., *Ep.* I, 3, 21, Phaedr., *Fab.* I, 3.

They strut like jays in my lendings,  
 They chatter and screech; I sing.  
 They mimic my phrases and endings,  
 And rum Old Testament ring.  
 But the lyrical cry isn't in it,  
 And the high gods spot in a minute  
 That it isn't the genuine thing.

The criticism which Pindar made of Bacchylides at Aegina was substantially the same as that which he made to Hieron.

Not vastly dissimilar is the famous passage in *Olympian II*, 86–88, in which Pindar speaks of two rivals whom the Scholiasts identify with Simonides and Bacchylides:

μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι  
 παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὥς ἄκραντα γαρεύετον  
 Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

“Let the two of them, mere learners,  
 Chatter boisterous and loud like crows  
 In vain against God's holy bird.”

Here there are several points of attack. Pindar's rivals are mere learners, while he is the true poet by birth; they are boisterous, λαβροί, and they do not mind what they say, παγγλωσσία.<sup>1</sup> But the real kernel of the criticism is the comparison of them with crows. The crow is loud-voiced, but he is also a scavenger and a thief. His worst characteristic is that he steals from their altars the sacrificial meat of the gods. Therefore Aeschylus speaks of the suitors of the Danaids, κόρακες ὥστε βωμῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν,<sup>2</sup> and ‘Aesop,’ in the Fable Κόραξ νοσῶν,<sup>3</sup> makes the point that the sick crow has no gods to whom he may pray for health because he has robbed all their altars. So Pindar by comparing his rivals to crows hints that they are thieves. Nor is μαθόντες quite inappropriate even for crows. According to Plutarch, crows, parrots and starlings can be taught to converse: ψᾶρες δὲ καὶ κόρακες καὶ ψιττακοὶ μανθάνοντες διαλέγεσθαι.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jebb, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>2</sup> *Supp.*, 751.

<sup>3</sup> *Fab.* 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Mor.*, p. 972 f.

The Scholiasts, then, seem to be justified both in their identification of the Ape with Bacchylides and in their recognition of him in Pindar's references to Jackdaws and Crows. The different images suggest the same fundamental idea which is admirably appropriate to a rival poet who imitated Pindar's style, and such we know Bacchylides to have been. Before 468 Pindar could make his charges with a certain lordly detachment. He still felt that he was the Eagle, while his imitators were inferior Crows. But in 468 Bacchylides had defeated him for an honour which he coveted, and he could no longer maintain an air of triumphant superiority. So it is reasonable to believe that *Pythian II* was written when the sense of defeat was strong in Pindar's consciousness. His identification of Bacchylides with the Ape is better suited to 468 than to any other date in his life. He felt slighted, as the Scholiast says, διὰ τὸ παρὰ τῷ Ἱέρωνι τὰ Βαχκυλίδου προκρίνεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα.<sup>1</sup> Indeed a grievance of this kind is the best explanation of some peculiarities in *Pythian II*. It says nothing about a choir or about a place or time of performance, and its intimate character is shown by the fact that no god is addressed in it. It is a poetical epistle, like *Pythian III*, and it seems to have been sent to Hieron, as it were, on approval. Such at least must be the meaning of 67-68:

τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἔμπολὸν  
μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται.

"This song

I am sending like a Phoenician merchant over the grey sea."

Just as the Phoenician merchants in Homer would arrive unexpectedly and display their wares for sale without receiving previous orders for them, so Pindar sends this example of his wares in the hope that Hieron will be pleased by it and accept it. An action of this kind, for which Pindar's other poems provide no parallel, surely indicates that he feels slighted and wishes to draw Hieron's attention to his worth.

If *Pythian II* was sent to Hieron as a private message, it did not travel alone. Immediately after his words about Phoenician merchandise Pindar says:

<sup>1</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. II*, 166d.



τὸ Καστόρειον δ' ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς θέλων  
 ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου  
 φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος. (69-71)

"On the Castor-song on Aeolian strings, so please you,  
 Look and greet it  
 For the sake of my seven-stringed lyre."

The words are by no means easy to interpret. But it must be clear that τὸ Καστορεῖον is something different from *Pythian II*. It is mentioned in a δέ clause after τόδε μέλος has been mentioned in a μέν clause. It must, too, be a poetical and musical composition, since Hieron is asked to welcome it for the sake of Pindar's lyre and it is composed on Aeolian strings. Moreover it must be sent at the same time as *Pythian II*; for the present participle ἀντόμενος and the aorist imperative ἄθρησον point to the immediate present. Finally, it is something which Pindar asks Hieron to view favourably, and it may well be another poem to him. But what exactly is it? The name τὸ Καστορεῖον suggests that it was the familiar, ancient tune to which Pindar refers in *Isthmian I*, 16 and which the Scholiast calls a μέλος ὑπορχηματικόν.<sup>1</sup> This tune was of Spartan origin and seems to have been connected with the celebration of chariot-victories because Castor was regarded as the inventor of the chariot and played an important part as a patron of racing. It was, then, suitable for such a victory as that which caused *Pythian II* to be written. But the tune seems to have been altered by Pindar. The words ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς show that it is no longer purely Dorian and suggest that Pindar has at least transposed it into the Aeolian mode. A parallel may be found, too, in Pindar's account of *Olympian I* as ἱππῖω νόμῳ Αἰοληίδι μολπᾷ, "the Horseman's Song in Aeolian melody."<sup>2</sup> There too the horseman may well be Castor, and it looks as if some familiar νόμος or tune had been adapted by Pindar to Aeolian music. How extensive this adaptation was we cannot say, but it seems to have been considerable, since *Olympian I* is not written in Dorian or 'dactylo-epitritic' metre but in what may be called Aeolian. We may therefore per-

<sup>1</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. II*, 125c. Cf. *Plut., Lyc.*, 22; *de Mus.*, 26; *Pollux IV*, 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol. I*, 101-102.

haps assume that in his *Καστορείον* Pindar also altered a traditional tune to suit the Aeolian mode and the Aeolian type of metre.

It is at first sight tempting to identify τὸ *Καστορείον* with *Olympian I*<sup>1</sup> and to assume that Pindar asks Hieron to look at this great poem written eight years earlier for him and to feel well disposed because of it. This would be all the more natural since in *Olympian I* Pindar had hoped that Hieron would win a chariot-victory at Olympia. The objection to this view is, however, fatal. It is that τὸ *Καστορείον* must be contemporary with *Pythian II*, as we have seen, and cannot be a poem written some years before. The only alternative in the circumstances is to believe that the Scholiasts were well informed on the question and to identify the Castor-Song with a *ὑπόρχημα* written for Hieron by Pindar, which contained in its opening lines:

νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται στρατῶν  
 ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται·  
 ἀκλεὴς δ' ἔβα . . . (fr. 94, 4-6)

"Among the wandering Scythians an exile from the hosts  
 Is he who has no home on a chariot;  
 Unhonoured he goes."

These words must surely have been a prelude for some statement on the honour and glory of possessing a chariot and are well suited to Hieron's victory. Since they deal with chariots, they might be set to a tune called after the chariot's patron, Castor. Moreover, such as they are, they seem to be written in a metre that in its main elements resembles that of *Olympian I*. It may be analysed as follows: —

1.	υ υ υ - υ -	Dochmiac
2-3.	υ υ - υ υ - υ -   υ υ υ -   - υ - -	Glyconic, Paeon, Trochaic Dipody
4.	υ υ - υ υ - υ -   υ - - υ -	Glyconic, Dochmiac
5.	υ υ - υ υ - υ -   υ - υ - -	Glyconic, Iambic
6.	- υ - υ -	Trochaic

<sup>1</sup> This view, advanced by D. S. Robertson, was accepted by H. T. Wade-Gery and myself in *Pindar, Pythian Odes*, p. 60.

These different elements may be recognized in *Olympian I*, which has the same combination of Dochmiac and Glyconic κῶλα on the one hand with shorter Iambic and Trochaic κῶλα on the other,<sup>1</sup> If that poem is composed Αἰολίῳ μολπᾷ, it seems reasonable to assume that this fragment is composed ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς. There is therefore some metrical support for the Scholiasts' statement that it was part of the Castor-Song.<sup>2</sup>

The fragment seems to have belonged to a poem considerably more light-hearted than *Pythian II* and was no doubt an honest attempt to praise Hieron's success. It was meant to be sung in public and must have been less intimate and less personal than the poem which accompanied it. By asking Hieron to look at it Pindar indicates that even though he feels slighted, he can still sing as well as ever of his old patron's achievements.

### III

If we admit that Pindar has a sense of grievance about the way in which he has been treated, his choice of Ixion for his Myth becomes intelligible. It is a lesson on the duty of gratitude to benefactors and makes its effect by showing the appalling consequences of ingratitude as displayed by Ixion. That such is its meaning is clear from the message which he proclaims as he turns on his wheel this way and that:

τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς  
ἀμοιβᾶς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι. (24)

"Thou shalt be zealous for him that does thee service  
And give him gentle return."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, pp. 414-416.

<sup>2</sup> Boeckh thought that fr. 95 came from the same poem. It was certainly written for Hieron, and its lively movement suggests a ἐπὶ ὄρχημα. But it does not seem to be part of the same poem as fr. 94, since, first, it makes a contrast between a Theban chariot and a Sicilian mule-car, and cannot refer to a chariot-victory; secondly, Athenaeus I, 28a says that it comes from a Πυθική ᾠδή, which may mean that it was sent with *Pythian I*; thirdly, the metre seems different; fourthly, it, too, looks like the opening of a poem.

Such is the universal lesson of the Myth, and it must be this which Pindar calls τὰν πολέκοινον ἀγγελίαν at 41b. But, as in many of Pindar's Myths, the universal thought is suggested by a particular situation and even by individual persons. The Myth presents in a concrete form the universal lesson that is relevant to the present occasion. Here Pindar is concerned with the sin of ingratitude and the dire punishment which it receives. It is inconceivable that he is accusing Hieron of possible ingratitude. Hieron was after all his employer and had been his friend. To prefer Bacchylides to Pindar might argue a lack of judgment but could hardly be construed as ingratitude. Moreover it is precisely to Hieron's judgment and not to his affections that Pindar appeals when he says the oracular words:

γένοι' οἷος ἐσσι μάθων (72)

"O find, and be yourself!"

and when he contrasts the just judge Rhadamanthus with the foolish gullible children, suggesting that Hieron has it in his power to be just and to see the truth. The lesson about ingratitude is certainly not aimed at Hieron. It is aimed by Pindar at himself. He is afraid of being ungrateful to Hieron who has treated him well, and for this reason he stresses the way in which Cinyras and Hieron are gratefully remembered by those whom they have benefited. But the essence of his own feelings is to be seen in his words soon after the close of the Myth:

ἐμέ δὲ χρέων

φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν.

εἶδον γὰρ ἐκὰς ἑὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ

ψογερόν Ἀρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθρῃσιν

παινόμενον (52-56)

"But I must keep from the sharp bites of slander:

For far in the past I see

Archilochus the scold in poverty

Fattening his leanness with hate and heavy words."

These words must surely be Pindar's lesson for himself. He is afraid of being ungrateful, and in the sad example of Archilochus he sees an awful warning. Harsh speech brings poverty and is no

good diet. The Scholiasts interpret the words otherwise and take them to mean that Pindar must avoid the harsh scandals spread against him by Bacchylides: αἰνίττεται δὲ εἰς Βακχυλίδην· ἀεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἱέρωνι διέσυρεν.<sup>1</sup> But this explanation does not fit the context. To be slandered is no parallel to Archilochus, who is the type of slanderer, and since Pindar later in the poem indicates that he will attack his slanderers, it is unlikely that he should here proclaim his desire to run away from them. It is far more likely that the comparison with Archilochus is part of his own case against himself. He wishes to avoid the dangers and evil results of evil speech, and the wish explains his choice of the Myth of Ixion. He will not by evil speaking show himself ungrateful and deserving of a severe punishment.

The punishment in the case of Archilochus was poverty, and such Pindar seems to fear will be his own punishment if he uses evil speech. For immediately after his words on Archilochus he says

τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχῃ πό-  
του σοφίας ἄριστον. (56)

The meaning of these words has been much disputed. But their order points to the translation: "Wealth with the fortune of wisdom that fate gives is best." This is the Pindaric way of saying that rather than speak freely and suffer he would choose his own art, σοφία, and the wealth which his patrons give him for it. Pindar certainly followed Simonides in taking money for his work, and in *Isthmian II* he refers frankly, if playfully, to it. Here in his practical Greek way he explains that he values this payment for his work, and he goes on to show that Hieron has been generous to him:

τὸ δὲ σάφα νιν ἔχεις ἐλευθέρῃ φρενὶ πεπαρεῖν. (57)

"And that men see is yours;  
Your free heart displays it."

Here νιν is simply τὸ πλουτεῖν, the wealth which Hieron bestows on Pindar. From this simple thought Pindar naturally goes on to praise Hieron's wealth and renown. In other words, he expresses

<sup>1</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. II*, 97.



his continuing gratitude to Hieron for his generosity and by so doing tries to dismiss any suspicion that he has been or will be guilty of the same sin as Ixion.

It is, then, fairly clear that *Pythian II* is not directed against Hieron. Whatever Pindar may have felt against him, he kept to himself, and his attack is directed against others. Who these were we cannot say, since they are not named. Bacchylides is not one of them; for one of the claims against them is that they admire Bacchylides. They must be certain friends of Hieron whom Pindar thought to have unduly influenced him in making him prefer Bacchylides. No more than that can be said of their identity. But Pindar's method of attack is more open to examination, though it too is full of difficulties. It takes up the whole of the last Triad and is cast in almost conversational language. But the sequence of thought is too abrupt to be clear and the main drift is hard to follow. In an attempt to make the meaning clearer Gildersleeve,<sup>1</sup> followed by Farnell,<sup>2</sup> claimed that Pindar stages the situation as a dialogue between himself and a slanderous enemy. To such a conversation there is no parallel in lyric poetry. Even if Alcman's *Partheneion* is to be divided between different singers, the singers are all members of the same choir. When Sappho writes a conversation between a man and a girl, the characters are plainly marked by the fact that each speaks with a separate verse, and when Bacchylides stages a dialogue in *Ode XIX*, the same distinction is made. Pindar makes no such division and he gives no sign whatsoever that another person is speaking. In his manuscript there can have been no inverted commas, and if he meant to stage a conversation, it would have been as obscure to Hieron as to us. It seems most improbable that he would introduce a complicated conversation without any indication of the division of parts or indeed any sign that there is a conversation at all. The natural assumption is that the poem is a monologue by Pindar, and we must act on this assumption unless it is evidently nonsensical. Our first duty is to try to see what Pindar means by it.

<sup>1</sup> *Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Pindar II*, pp. 131-132.

In fact the Triad may be seen to be built on a single principle, the contrast between Pindar and his enemies. Each is an example of a type and has the characteristics proper to that type. Pindar stands for the Mean, while his enemy is the Slanderer. The contrast between them is made in the following ways. First, keeping up his figures of animals, Pindar compares his enemy to a fox, 77-78, and himself to a wolf, 84-85. The Fox is of course the type of trickiness and treachery, and there is no need to accumulate evidence on this common idea. The Wolf is not so common, and Farnell has some reason on his side when he says "it is strange that Pindar should compare himself to so unpleasant an animal as the wolf." But Pindar has his reasons based in common belief. The Wolf was the enemy of the Fox. Aristotle says *λύκος δ' ὄνῳ καὶ ταύρῳ καὶ ἀλώπεκι πολέμιος*,<sup>1</sup> and Aelian tells how the Fox throws *πέτηλα σκίλλης* into the den of the Wolf, *διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὴν νοοῦσιν ἔχθιστα αὐτοῖς*.<sup>2</sup> 'Aesop' portrays the hostility between the two animals and the Wolf's contempt for the Fox because he is a liar.<sup>3</sup> It is on such lore as this that Pindar draws when he compares himself to the Wolf. He means that when you deal with liars and cheats, you must treat them roughly, and this he is ready to do. There is therefore nothing wrong when he says:

ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρόν ᾗτ' ἐχθρὸς ἑὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθέσομαι,  
ἄλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς. (84-85)

"But if I must fight my foe, I'll be wolf and make for his legs;  
I'll be here and there, and twist and turn."

True to the aristocratic tradition, Pindar will be a good friend but a bad enemy. He will be like the Wolf, whom Aristotle regards as a particularly ferocious enemy,<sup>4</sup> especially if anyone gets in his way.<sup>5</sup> To wish harm to one's enemies was by Greek standards perfectly right and natural. Theognis more than once<sup>6</sup> allows himself to wish the worst to them, and we may recall a famous

<sup>1</sup> *H. A.*, 609b.

<sup>4</sup> *H. A.*, 488a, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *H. A. I.*, 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 571b, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Fab.* 231.

<sup>6</sup> 337-340, 349-350.

Chorus in the *Bacchae*.<sup>1</sup> Nor does it matter how the harm comes to them. It is perfectly legitimate to inflict it by guile and stratagem, as Theognis shows.<sup>2</sup> There is, then, no reason to think that when Pindar refers to *ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς* he is not speaking about himself. It is true that the word *σκολιός* is usually used as a term of abuse, but in certain times it was right for a good man to use guile. So here Pindar announces that in attacking his enemies he will stick at nothing.

Secondly, Pindar makes the point that while he himself cannot be hurt by malice, his enemies will certainly bring evil on themselves by their machinations. The first point underlies his simile of the cork which rides the surge and does not get wet (79-80); the second is driven home twice, each time with a pun. At 78 Pindar points out that the Fox's cunning is no profit to it:

*κερδοῖ δέ τί μάλα τοῦτο κερδαλέον τελέθει;*

"Yet Lady Vixen was not so cunning for once."

Huschke's brilliant correction of *κερδοῖ* for the almost meaningless *κέρδει* is certainly right. It picks up the idea of the Fox from the preceding line, and it is no objection that it is feminine; for Timocreon refers to himself as *κόλουρις* in a similar context.<sup>3</sup> Then later Pindar says of his enemies:

*στάθμας*

*δέ τινος ἐλκόμενοι*

*περισσᾶς ἐνέπαξαν ἔλ-*

*κος ὀδυναρὸν ἐῖ πρόσθε καρδίᾳ,*

*πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητίονται τυχεῖν. (90-92)*

"They pull too much of a tape,  
And the sharp wound is in their heart, or ever  
Their careful schemes come right."

Here there have been many attempts to find a single metaphor running through the sentence. But the metaphors are mixed. The

<sup>1</sup> *Bacch.*, 897-901.

<sup>2</sup> 363-365.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 3, 4.



στάθμα, as Farnell shows,<sup>1</sup> is a measuring-line, and the point in *περισσᾶς* is that it is being dishonestly used. As such it cannot inflict physical injury on its users, and Pindar changes the metaphor to that of a wound in order to get a verbal play between *ἐλκόμενοι* and *ἔλκος*. He almost uses the language of the slanging match, and his resort to puns to show contempt is better paralleled in Aristophanes than in any other author. But behind his manner lies the Greek belief that the presumptuous man who goes beyond the Mean will find his own destruction. In his own way he applies this doctrine to his enemies.

This is the root of the contrast which Pindar makes between himself and his enemies. He himself will be modest, knowing that he must not fight against God (87) and that he must bear his yoke without complaining (93-94). His enemy is of the kind that kicks against the pricks and comes sprawling (94-96). Almost every idea and every image is traditional. To kick against the pricks is an ancient figure for trying to rise above one's circumstances. Aegisthus uses it to the rebellious Chorus in the *Agamemnon*; <sup>2</sup> Oceanus applies it to Prometheus; <sup>3</sup> Dionysus warns Pentheus with it. <sup>4</sup> The acceptance of the yoke laid on one's neck belongs to the same order of metaphors, but is not so often used in a laudatory sense. The yoke is more commonly used as an image of force, subjection or slavery. But it is a natural image for a reasonable, no less than for an unreasonable, discipline, and it fits in well with the metaphor of the goad. Pindar is concerned with a problem of ordinary morality, and he uses homely imagery to make his points. But like other moral poetry, his is informed with some elements of dislike and even hate. It is not unlike the poetry of abuse as we know it from Archilochus and Timocreon. Nor can it be quite an accident that the use of animals as types of human beings is found almost alone here in his works. They recall the Fables of Archilochus and the curtail fox of Timocreon. When he wanted to write on a matter of personal dislike, Pindar fell back for his imagery

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 133-134. Cf. G. Norwood, *Classical Quarterly*, 1915, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ag.*, 1624.

<sup>3</sup> *P. V.*, 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Bacch.*, 795; cf. fr. 604.

on this ancient way of writing and showed himself here no less traditional than when he wrote very differently elsewhere.

The view, then, that *Pythian II* was written in 468 removes many of its difficulties. It explains why it is full of a sense of grievance: it gives effect to the repeated statements of the Scholiasts that Pindar is referring to Bacchylides: it accounts for the sombre colours of the Myth and for the bitter personal outburst of the last Triad. If it is correct, it throws a considerable light on Pindar's character and on the extreme seriousness with which he regarded his profession. To us perhaps he may seem unduly sensitive and unduly rancorous. But Greeks, and especially Greek poets, were not accustomed to hiding or repressing their emotions, and neither Archilochus nor Alcaeus nor Theognis would in similar circumstances have scrupled to use harsher words than Pindar. He had, it seems, a peculiar horror of slander and backbiting: he feared the effects of envy<sup>1</sup> and the cruel speech of *κακολόγοι πολῖται*.<sup>2</sup> It is said of him that, when he was asked "What is sharper than a saw?", he answered: "Slander."<sup>3</sup> The story may be apocryphal, but it is poetically true. Pindar's horror of evil speech was due to the high value which he set on friendship, loyalty and personal obligations. He liked to feel at ease among friends, to feel that they appreciated him as much as he appreciated them. When Hieron listened to advisers who depreciated Pindar and praised Bacchylides, Pindar felt not only that his art had been insulted but that Hieron, for whom he had a genuine respect, had lost his judgment. He was intolerably affronted, and though he tried to keep his respect for Hieron, he must have wavered in it, as he shows by his anxious efforts to avoid the sin of ingratitude. But the insult rankled, and he could not help breaking out into denunciation of those whom he thought responsible for it.

<sup>1</sup> *Ol. VIII*, 55, *Pyth. XI*, 29 and 54, *Nem. VIII*, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyth. XI*, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Ambrosiana* ed. A. B. Drachmann, p. 3.

# MILTON AND HORACE

## A STUDY OF MILTON'S SONNETS

BY JOHN H. FINLEY, JR.

### I

**B**OTH Mark Pattison<sup>1</sup> and J. S. Smart<sup>2</sup> in their editions of Milton's sonnets noted certain evident imitations of Horace, and both observed the Horatian tone of the 20th and 21st sonnets, those beginning "Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son" and "Cyriack, whose grandsire on the royal bench." With peculiar authority Robert Bridges first remarked some years ago that Milton was deliberately adapting the sonnet-form to the Horatian ode.<sup>3</sup> And Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, after approving this suggestion, himself observed that Milton abandoned the Shakespearean sonnet-form for the Petrarchan and neglected the division between octave and sestet in the latter with the purpose of achieving an Horatian fluency by the suppression of striking halts and rhymes.<sup>4</sup> But the matter stopped here. Mr. Bridges's suggestion was not

<sup>1</sup> *The Sonnets of John Milton*, London (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.), 1883, pp. 208-210.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sonnets of Milton*, Glasgow (Maclehose, Jackson & Co.), 1921, pp. 45, 115, 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> *Poems of John Keats*, edited by G. Thorn Drury, with an introduction by Robert Bridges, London (George Routledge & Sons), 1894, pp. lxx-lxxi. "Again, Horace elaborated a form of ode which it is easier to recognize than in few words describe; and a number of Milton's sonnets may be referred to this ode form. If we compare, for example, his *Cyriack, whose grandsire*, with *Martiis caelebs* or *Aeli vetusto*, there can be no doubt that Milton was here deliberately using the sonnet form to do the work of Horace's tight stanzas; and not the whole of Shakespeare's or Petrarch's sonnets set alongside will show enough kinship with these sonnets of Milton to draw them away from their affinity with Horace. Such sonnets, too, as his addresses to Vane, Fairfax, and Cromwell are properly odes, and should be called odes, or at least odic sonnets."

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in Literature*, Cambridge (The University Press), 1918, I, pp. 60-67. But for the faults of structure generally but unjustly attributed to Milton by earlier critics, one should consult Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-38.

adopted by Professor Smart, who saw resemblances to Horace only in the aforementioned sonnets, and in E. M. W. Tillyard's critical biography there is only the most passing mention of any conscious following of Horace by Milton.<sup>1</sup> Yet the subject is of some importance. If Milton seriously modeled his style in the sonnets upon Horace, the fact should cast light upon the poems themselves. It should further illuminate Milton's poetic aims in the years during his service in the Puritan cause when the sonnets were his only original English verse.<sup>2</sup> For the imitations of his maturity sprang from no momentary impulse. They were rather the fruit of his reasoned understanding of earlier poets and betokened the likeness of his own calling to theirs.

But caution should be expressed at the start concerning the extent or pretensions of this essay. An attempt to see one source of inspiration for Milton's sonnets, and that Horace, would be absurd for at least three reasons. In the first place, the love sonnets of his youth, written largely in Italian, could follow only the Petrarchan tradition. These, the first <sup>3</sup> sonnet "O Nightingale that on yon bloomy spray" and the five Italian sonnets numbered from two to six together with the canzone "Ridonsi donne e giovani amorosi," arose from Milton's attraction to an Italian lady Emilia while he was still, in all probability, at Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> They reflect the period in his life, referred to in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*,<sup>5</sup> when he abated his love for the Latin elegiac poets and "above them all preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura." Written, then, under the double inspiration of his first love and recent reading, these sonnets are not unnaturally wholly Italian in feeling. "Questa e lingua di cui si vanta amore,"<sup>6</sup> Emilia had said to Milton. For all their delicate grace, therefore, they would concern us little, were it not for certain borrowings from Horace and other classical poets which they contain. To these I shall return presently.

<sup>1</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton*, London (Chatto & Windus), 1930, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin ode *Ad Ioannem Rousium*, written in 1646, and the translations of the Psalms, made in 1648 and 1653, are Milton's other verse in this period.

<sup>3</sup> I have followed in all cases Professor Smart's numbering of the sonnets.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. S. Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-144. For a discussion of the date of these poems. cf. Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>5</sup> *The Prose Works of John Milton*, London (Henry G. Bohn), 1848, III, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Milton's canzone, line 15.



The second reason forbidding Milton's unreserved sympathy for any classical author was the depth of his religious faith. The only other youthful sonnet besides those just mentioned, that on his twenty-third year, illustrates supremely how in moods of devotion to Christian duty his powerful faith wholly animates his mind. This sonnet, a statement of his purposes for life, may perhaps be thought of as suggested by such poems as Petrarch's 7th sonnet or Milton's own canzone where the poet explains his actions to the critical or dissuading. But if so, Milton has so stamped upon the poem the imprint of his own moral purpose, that the result bears little resemblance to any source. Herein the sonnet foreshadows the well known later statements of his faith, the 19th and the 22nd sonnets, on his blindness. Not less religious in feeling are the 23rd sonnet, on the death of his second wife Katherine Woodcock, the 9th and the 14th on the Christian life of two women of his acquaintance, and the 18th, *On the late Massacre in Piemont*. In spite of occasional classical references, the tone and imagery of these sonnets is Christian, and their specific indebtedness is primarily to the Bible and, secondarily, to Italian religious poetry.<sup>1</sup> Yet the same sonnets differ among themselves in structure, and the 9th and the 14th, cast in the form of direct address, herein resemble the seven sonnets addressed by name to Milton's contemporaries, the tone of which, I shall argue, is in the truest sense that of the classical poet. Here, then, is the problem facing one who would estimate the various and, for a lesser mind, conflicting forces which inspired Milton's style. The range of his thought and reading was matched only by his moral purpose. When, therefore, he most speaks in the tone and with the authority to which he was prompted by his knowledge of ancient verse, he speaks as well under the impulse of religious belief, implicit or expressed. Hence it is impossible to isolate the one element in his thought without violating the other. I shall try to point out the classical structure and quality of certain sonnets; yet even these, it need hardly be said, are no barren copies of a defunct literary form, but rather the full expression of Milton's active and religious life. Conversely, the sonnets most purely inspired by Christian faith are not therefore to be considered empty of classical feeling. The Pindaric conclusion of the sonnet on his twenty-third

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 68-70.

year<sup>1</sup> and the classical imagery of the poem to his wife sufficiently illustrate the point. It is the less surprising, then, that the 9th and the 14th sonnets, although religious in theme, are in tone and structure similar to the most classical of the sonnets.

Finally, Milton could be expected to follow Horace only with grave reservations because of his utter difference in temperament. Milton's early verse, to be sure, and not least his Latin verses, prove that he could be tolerant of the free expressions of ancient poetry because time and tradition had made them acceptable. It is, moreover, incorrect to think of Horace as merely the light singer of love and wine; on the contrary, no ancient poet, with the possible exception of Pindar, expressed more clearly the high purposes of his calling.<sup>2</sup> And that Milton felt Horace's seriousness is amply proved both by the admitted imitations of the sonnets and by such a passage in *Paradise Lost* as the invocation at the opening of Book VII.<sup>3</sup> This last passage perhaps indicates the nature of Milton's sympathy for Horace. It was largely artistic and sprang from his recognition in Horace not only of extreme verbal felicity but also of those conceptions of the power and importance of poetry which Milton shared. Yet in other ways it would be hard to imagine poets more diverse. Horace consciously recalls himself from serious themes and interposes light poems between thoughtful ones, while in the period of Milton's middle life with which we shall be concerned, the bent of his mind was increasingly to the serious and sublime.

These reasons are enough to prove that one may well be slow in pressing Milton's indebtedness to Horace. And yet the force of early association is very great. And when, as in Milton's case, this force soon received the further sanction of conscious humanism,<sup>4</sup> it cannot be surprising that, divorced from ancient feeling as in many ways Milton was, he should yet with utter naturalness assume the usages of ancient

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 45-47.

<sup>3</sup> "Descend from Heav'n, Urania, by that name  
If rightly thou art call'd."

Cf. *Od.* 3, 4, 1: "Descende caelo . . . Calliope," and *Carmen Saeculare*, 15-16: "sive tu Lucina probas vocari / seu Genitalis."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 10.



verse. Indeed, considering his powers as a Latinist, the opposite would have been surprising.

That he was early familiar with Horace needs no proof. The influence of Ovid is, to be sure, most apparent in the structure of Milton's Latin verse as well as in his fondness for mythology,<sup>1</sup> and Virgil's imagery returns again and again in the Bucolic poems, whether Latin or English. Yet the translation of *Od.* 1, 5, too often criticized in spite of its great merits of order and phrase, attests a close study of Horace, and the Latin poems *In Obitum Praecancellarii Medici* and *In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis*, if they reflect the poetic manner of Ovid rather than of Horace,<sup>2</sup> are at least in the latter's metres. Occasional allusions to Horace are likewise to be found in the early poems.<sup>3</sup>

Of greatest interest to ourselves, however, are the borrowings from Horace in the Italian sonnets. The first of these is unimportant. Speaking in the 5th sonnet of the influence of his lady's eyes, Milton says,

Sì mi percuoton forte, come ei suole  
Per l'arene di Libia chi s'invia.

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<sup>1</sup> E. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication," *Studies in Philology*, XIX (1922), pp. 109-135.

<sup>2</sup> The heaping up of mythological allusions in the former poem is not in the manner of Horace, who uses mythology only with careful purpose, and the concluding prayer, however justly admired by Tillyard (*op. cit.*, p. 20), is better suited to elegiacs than to alcaics. The vilification of death in the latter poem follows the traditional spirit of epodes and, as such, is Horatian, but Milton speaks of Ovid and Archilochus as his models (ll. 18-22).

<sup>3</sup> *At a Vacation Exercise*: "But fie my wandring Muse how thou dost stray!" (l. 53) "Quo, Musa, tendis?" (*Od.* 3, 3, 70). *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*: "speckl'd vanity" (l. 136) "maculosum nefas" (*Od.* 4, 5, 22), "edged with poplar pale" (l. 185) "albaque populus" (*Od.* 2, 3, 9). *On Shakespear*: "Star-ypointing Pyramid" (l. 4) "Exegi monumentum . . . pyramidum altius" (*Od.* 3, 30, 2). *L'Allegro*: "with two sister Graces more" (l. 15) "Gratia cum nymphis geminisque sororibus" (*Od.* 4, 7, 5), "Lydian Aires / Married to immortal verse" (ll. 136-137) "Lydis remixto carmine tibiis" (*Od.* 4, 15, 30). *Il Penseroso*: "And the Waters murmuring . . . / Entice the dewy-feather'd Sleep" (ll. 144-46) "Somnos quod invitet levis" (*Epod.* 2, 28). *Comus*: "Above the smoak and stirr of this dim spot" (l. 5) "fumum et opes strepitumque Romae" (*Od.* 3, 29, 12), "courtesie / Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds / With smoaky rafters, than in tapstry Halls / And Courts of Princes" (ll. 322-325) "mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum / cenae sine aulaeis et ostro / sollicitam explicuere frontem" (*Od.* 3, 29, 14-16).

The allusion to *Od.* 1, 22, 5<sup>1</sup> is conventional and must have been duplicated by many sonneteers.<sup>2</sup> The second allusion is more interesting. In the 6th sonnet, after offering his heart to his lady and describing it as faithful, loyal, and wise, Milton continues,

Quando rugge il gran mondo e scocca il tuono,  
S'arma di se e d'intero diamante;  
Tanto del forse e d'invidia sicuro,  
10 Di timori e speranze al popol use,  
Quanto d'ingegno e d'alto valor vago,  
E di cetra sonora e delle Muse.

The figure of the wise man's constancy under the storms of heaven of *Od.* 3, 3, 1-8 is one of the most familiar in the odes. "S'arma di se" reflects the almost equally well-known passage, "mea virtute me involvo" of *Od.* 3, 29, 55, in which ode Horace alludes also to stormy weather, fortune, and the vacillation of ordinary men in the autobiographic manner of this sonnet. Finally, the notion of "invidia" is a persistent one in Horace,<sup>3</sup> and although one should seek no single source for the conventional expression of line 12, it is worth observing that Horace uses the phrase "sonante lyra."<sup>4</sup>

But these allusions in no way lessen the Petrarchan cast of the Italian sonnets. Classical figures were never foreign to the convention, and Milton's language is natural in the young author of the *Elegies*. Yet one may say that by education and instinct Milton was quick to impose a classicism of thought or imagery on the literary forms which he used. His addition of references to Virgil and the *Odyssey* in the 4th sonnet,<sup>5</sup> otherwise modeled on Petrarch, illustrates the point, and as has already been noted, the Pindaric conclusion of the sonnet on his twenty-third year and the classical figures in the 9th and 23rd sonnets<sup>6</sup> show how even in his deepest moods of Christian thought he by instinct speaks with the imagery of ancient verse. But the autobiographic reference to Horace in the 6th sonnet is of yet greater importance. When he de-

<sup>1</sup> sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas / sive facturus per inhospitalem / Caucasum.

The figure is repeated in *Od.* 2, 6, 1-4, and 3, 4, 31-32.

<sup>2</sup> By Tasso, for instance, in the 206th sonnet of the *Rime Amoroze*.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 2, 16, 39; 2, 20, 4; 3, 1, 1; 4, 3, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Epod.* 9, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>6</sup> The subject is discussed more fully below, pp. 68-70.

scribes himself to Emilia in Horace's language, it is clear how deeply his conscious thought is guided by ancient ideals and how eagerly he would see himself in the light of an ancient poet. The imitation of Pindar in the crucial lines of the 7th sonnet,<sup>1</sup>

To that same lot however mean or high  
Toward which Time leads me and the will of Heaven,

proves the same fact. Whether in addition he consciously or unconsciously felt, even at this early age, some subtle kinship between the sonnet and the ancient ode, which in their mingling of the personal and the objective are certainly not dissimilar, cannot be proved but is, to say the least, possible. If so, there would be further reason for his following Pindar and Horace in the central passages of the youthful sonnets where he describes himself and his hopes.

## II

Between Milton's youthful sonnets and those of his maturity many events and much time were interposed: the composition at Horton of his greatest poems in the pastoral tradition, his journey to Italy and resolution to write in English on more exalted themes, "that what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above of being a Christian, might do for mine,"<sup>2</sup> and finally his abandonment of these hopes when, two years after his return to England, he became an active champion of the Puritan cause. He was thirty-two at the time of his first pamphlet, *On Reformation in England*, published in 1641. The labor thus begun interrupted both the copious designs for tragedies preserved in the Trinity Ms. and the projected epic on Arthur of which he had spoken in the *Epistle to Manso*<sup>3</sup> and the *Epitaphion Bionis*.<sup>4</sup> Wholly immersed in the religious controversy, he

<sup>1</sup> *Nem.* 4, 41-43: ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποῖαν ἀρετὰν ἔδωκε πότμος ἀναξ, / εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει. Cf. p. 32.

The resemblance was first noted by Lewis Campbell, *The Classical Review*, VIII (1894), p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Reason of Church Government*, Bohn, II, p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 80-84.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 162-178.

found time only for such occasional verse as sonnets. Of these he wrote sixteen between 1643, the date of the 8th, and 1655, that of the 21st and the 22nd, when he had already been blind for three years. The 23rd sonnet on the death in February, 1658, of his wife, Katherine Woodcock, was written when he had begun *Paradise Lost*, the undertaking of which marks the end of the sonnets.

The 8th sonnet, the first of this new period, is of the greatest interest in marking what was to follow. Written in November, 1642, less than three months after the opening of the civil war, and at a time when the Royalist force, after its advantage at Edgehill, was advancing on London, it shows clearly what Milton thought of his own position in the conflict.

Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in Arms,  
 Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,  
 If ever deed of honour did thee please,  
 Guard them, and him within protect from harms.  
 He can requite thee; for he knows the charms  
 That call fame on such gentle acts as these,  
 And he can spread thy name o'er land and seas,  
 Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.  
 Lift not thy spear against the Muse's bower.  
 The great Emathian conqueror bid spare  
 The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower  
 Went to the ground; and the repeated air  
 Of sad Electra's poet had the power  
 To save th' Athenian walls from ruin bare.

Impersonal in design, the sonnet addresses any officer of the enemy who may chance upon his house, bidding him spare it, first, because the poet can reward him, second, because in the past poets have won mercy for their house or city. It is conceived in the spirit of an ancient literary inscription, a form which, although inspired by actual inscriptions, was widely practised in antiquity for its own sake. According to the convention, a poet imagined his verses as soliciting the notice of passers-by for some monument on which the verses were in fact or theory to be inscribed. The words might be put in the mouth of a god or of the dead or they might accompany some inanimate object. Inscriptions of all three sorts are found in the Greek Anthology, the chief source of such



poems.<sup>1</sup> The Roman poets as well used the form, and Propertius's poem on Vertumnus,<sup>2</sup> Horace's ode to Archytas,<sup>3</sup> and Catullus's verses on his yacht<sup>4</sup> are Latin examples of the three classes of inscriptions to which I have just referred. The common trait of all was that they contained some prayer or advice and were imagined as open to all men's gaze. And that Milton, in a half-humorous way, had this form in mind is clear both from the poem itself and from its original title in the Trinity Ms., *On his Door when the City expected an Assault*.<sup>5</sup> The title is, to be sure, crossed out, and in Milton's hand is substituted *When the Assault was intended to the City*. Critics have, therefore, denied that the sonnet was written to be actually affixed to Milton's door, Professor Smart justly remarking "we are in presence of a poetical situation, not a practical expedient."<sup>6</sup> None the less the original title shows what poetic form was in Milton's mind.

The idea of reward in line 5, likewise classical, is more specifically Horatian. That one function of poetry was exactly to "call fame on such gentle acts as these" is an idea as old as Homer, who shows Achilles during his absence from battle singing the κλέα ἀνδρῶν.<sup>7</sup> Theognis<sup>8</sup> boasted that he had immortalized Cynus. It was Pindar's formal task to give fame through verse, and Horace, who recognizes and admires this power in his predecessor,<sup>9</sup> increasingly felt the gift of fame to be his own function and that of poetry. As Wickham remarked,<sup>10</sup> it came to be one of his dominant themes in the fourth book,

<sup>1</sup> An epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anthologia Palatina* 10, 1; printed also in J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1906, Sect. 6, xxvi) is a good example of the first class of inscriptional poems, i.e., poems designed for the statue of a god.

Simonides's celebrated epigram on the dead at Thermopylae (*Anthol. Pal.* 7, 239; Mackail, *op. cit.*, Sect. 3, iv) is an example of the second class.

An epigram of Hermocreon (*Anthol. Pal.* 9, 327; Mackail, *op. cit.*, Sect. 2, xvi) will serve as an example of the very numerous third class.

<sup>2</sup> 4, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 1, 38.

<sup>4</sup> 4.

<sup>5</sup> David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, London (Macmillan Co.), 1881, II, p. 488.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad* 9, 189.

<sup>8</sup> *Ll.* 237-252.

<sup>9</sup> *Od.* 4, 2, 13-24 is a description of Pindar's poetry. The passage concludes thus, *viris animumque moresque / aureos educit in astra nigroque / invidet Orco*.

<sup>10</sup> E. C. Wickham, *The Works of Horace*, Oxford (The Clarendon Press), 1877 I, p. 259.

where, besides the idea of reward, two passages suggest this sonnet. The movement of the first ode of that book, where<sup>1</sup> Horace begs Venus to forsake him for Paulus Maximus,

namque nobilis et decens . . .  
late signa feret militiae tuae

resembles that of "he can requite thee; for, etc.," and the phrase "qua sol habitabilis/inlustrat oras"<sup>2</sup> recalls "whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms." He would be bold who asserted that these passages were consciously in Milton's mind when he wrote the sonnet. Yet against the criticism that the parallels are not complete one may point to the classical tone of the entire poem and observe the subtlety of association when a mind dwells on thoughts which another has stamped as his own. Indeed, since Professor J. L. Lowes's *Road to Xanadu*,<sup>3</sup> the point does not need laboring.

And finally, to speak of the conclusion of the sonnet, Milton in the sestet gives two examples to confirm and illustrate the ideas of the octave. He ends with the example and does not resume the main thought by further statement of it. This is Horace's frequent practice. Thus in *Od.* 4, 8 after the general statement,

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori;  
caelo Musa beat,

he cites three examples of such immortality, Hercules, the Tyndarids, and Liber, in the five and a half remaining lines. The preceding ode ends similarly. After saying to Torquatus that, once he has died, none of his virtues will restore him to life, he ends

Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum  
liberat Hippolytum,  
nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro  
vincula Pirithoo.

And many other examples could show Horace's love of illustrations which gave a clear and calm ending to his odes. For the sources of the

<sup>1</sup> L. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 4, 14, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Boston (Houghton Mifflin Co.), 1932.



actual illustrations used by Milton in this sonnet it is sufficient to refer to Pattison's excellent notes.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps only a coincidence that in *Od.* 3, 16 Horace within three lines speaks of the "vir Macedo," the father of the "Emathian conqueror," and says "concidit auguris/Argivi domus," a phrase not without similarity to

when temple and tower  
Went to the ground.

I have dwelt at perhaps excessive length on the foregoing sonnet with the purpose not so much of showing exact resemblances to Horace, too many of which would in any case be unlikely in a poet of Milton's gift of phrase, as to point out such general and intangible similarities as follow from Milton's taking the attitude and adopting the forms of an ancient poet. Analysis, liable both to excessive length and to erring supposition, makes one ask, "Did Milton in fact intend these many and varied allusions?" The answer is that, steeped as he was in Latin, his actual images followed on his entering a train of thought which he associated with Horace. This attitude might not prevent suggestions of other poets, but the major characteristics of the poem would be Horatian: the address, the idea of the poet's function in conferring fame, and the examples bringing the poem to a quiet close. Ultimately, of course, such resemblances to Horace would depend on Milton's opinion that his purposes as a poet were not unlike Horace's and that the sonnet in his hands could approximate the Horatian ode. To this larger subject I shall return after a brief examination of the remaining sonnets.

Of these we must for our purposes consider chiefly eight, addressed by name to certain persons, Lady Margaret Ley, Lawes, Fairfax, Cromwell, Vane, Lawrence, and the two sonnets to Skinner. Two more, the 11th and the 12th, concerning the unfavorable reception of his tracts on divorce, although highly classical in manner, for the moment concern us less.<sup>2</sup> The remaining five, on personal or religious subjects, may also be omitted for the present. The eight first-mentioned sonnets are each, as has been said, addressed by name to a per-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 132-135.

<sup>2</sup> These sonnets are discussed on pp. 70-73.

son. They have the further similarity that, except in the second sonnet to Skinner, the person is in all cases described, sometimes by parentage, as

Daughter to that good Earl, once President,  
sometimes by achievement, as

Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings.

Upon the description, the length of which varies in the different sonnets, follows the burden of the poem, whether praise, as of Lady Margaret Ley, Lawes, and Vane, or advice, as to Fairfax and Cromwell, or invitation as to Lawrence and Skinner. Simple in structure, the sonnets, except that to Lawrence, are equally simple in grammar, being expressed largely in one long sentence, with the occasional addition of shorter sentences in the sestet. Finally, they have the common trait that out of each a moral judgement arises, whether indirectly by description or overtly by statement. Ostensibly, therefore, addresses to Milton's contemporaries, they are actually moral pronouncements of an objective and general sort. Yet the judgements are either so briefly phrased or so subtly clothed in description as not to mar the effect of the poems as addresses to persons.

Any one of the eight sonnets will illustrate these points. Take that to Fairfax:

Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings,  
Filling each mouth with envy or with praise,  
And all her jealous monarchs with amaze,  
And rumours loud, that daunt remotest kings,  
Thy firm unshaken virtue ever brings  
Victory home, though new rebellions raise  
Their Hydra heads, and the false North displays  
Her broken League, to imp their serpent wings.  
Oh! yet a nobler task awaits thy hand; —  
For what can War but endless war still breed? —  
Till truth and right from violence be freed,  
And public faith cleared from the shameful brand  
Of public fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed  
While Avarice and Rapine share the land.

After Fairfax's name follows in the next four lines a description of his achievements in war, continued through four lines more of compli-

mentary address. In the sestet he is urged to repair the public credit and thus confirm his victories. The conclusion reinforces the plea. The octave is devoted to description, the sestet to exhortation, but a similar tone of moral judgement pervades both parts. The ideals implicit in the phrase "with envy or with praise" or "thy firm unshaken virtue" are merely expressed with greater openness as the sonnet proceeds to the general conclusion of the last line and a half. Thus, in the poem, address and judgement are subtly intertwined, and Milton passes from the position of admirer to that of judge and prophet. He had said in the *Reason of Church Government*<sup>1</sup> that a poet's abilities "are of power, besides the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind and set the affections in right tune; . . . to sing . . . the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general lapse of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship." This moral and civic conception of the poet's office animates the sonnet. The idea goes back to his youth<sup>2</sup> and was unquestionably strengthened by his actual service in the government.

What has been said of one of the eight sonnets may be applied equally to the others. This is not to say that Milton is in all cases writing of public policy — he is not in the sonnets to Lawes and Lawrence and the first sonnet to Skinner — but that he constantly addresses persons with a kind of social authority springing from his conception of the poet's office. It may next be asked, why did he so use the sonnet? Professor Smart<sup>3</sup> seeks the origin of such addresses in Tasso's so-called heroic sonnets, and there is no reason to doubt his opinion. Since the days of Dante and Petrarch this form of polite address had continued to play a broad, if minor, part beside the overmastering tradition of the love-sonnet,<sup>4</sup> and Tasso only continued what had been an earlier practice. Yet readers of his mild and courtly addresses, gilded with classic imagery, will see a vast difference between these and Milton's sonnets.

<sup>1</sup> Bohn, II, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 81-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-46.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Symonds, *Italian Literature*, New York (Henry Holt & Co.), 1882, II, pp. 272-273.

Professor Smart accounts for this difference<sup>1</sup> by "Milton's greatness as a poet, the wide compass of his powers, the extent of his reading, his many-sided character, and his interest in life, literature, society, politics, and religion." This is true; yet one could add that Milton's character, although not his greatness as a poet, was conditioned by a classical education which his very power of mind made of greater effect. Under this influence his language, imagery, and syntax became often highly Latinate, and he followed in detail the classical models of epic and tragedy. The Bible, to be sure, rivaled Greek and Latin in its power over his thought, and the mingled influence of the Book of Job and the morality plays detected in *Paradise Regained* shows that he was sensitive to religious writing in many forms.<sup>2</sup> This fact, as it concerns the sonnets, has already been noted, and the 9th, 14th, 18th, and 23rd sonnets, although not without classical imagery, depend in feeling upon the Bible and the Italian religious sonneteers. But that his social and political sonnets should be similarly free, save in detail, from classical inspiration is, considering Milton's mind, unlikely. While admitting, therefore, Professor Smart's contention that Milton addressed sonnets to his contemporaries because that had been a common Italian practice best seen in Tasso, I should go on to argue that, having inevitably moulded his conception of the poet's function in large part upon classical ideas, he used the sonnet-form to approximate these, particularly as seen in Horace, their most conscious spokesman, rather than merely to continue the courtly practice of the Italians.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to discuss as briefly as possible the classical conception of the poet's task and place in society which I consider to have inspired both Milton's general belief as to his calling and his specific practice in many of the sonnets. The subject is clearly an immense one, and for anything beyond the imperfect sketch presented here the reader should consult Professor A. Y. Campbell's *Horace, A New Interpretation*,<sup>3</sup> to which I am much indebted. Since Horace thought of himself as a close follower of the Greeks, we should begin with them.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318.

<sup>3</sup> London (Methuen & Co.), 1924. The second and third chapters on the function of poetry in the ancient world and Horace's theory and practice of poetry particularly concern the present subject.



## III

With the study of anthropology and comparative religions, the idea grows increasingly familiar that in their amazingly rapid development the Greeks retained, even through the period of their most developed forms of art, many practices which we are accustomed to think of as primitive. Religion and the state, for instance, occupied no separate spheres, and, in the absence of a professional priesthood, poets not only composed religious songs but treated secular themes with a partly religious authority. Thus Orpheus and Musaeus, the reputed fathers of poetry, were remembered as the authors of cult songs;<sup>1</sup> the Homeric Hymns told of the gods; and the poets of the Hesiodic school gave advice and information equally on social and religious subjects. The peculiar development of the Greeks in small city-states intensified the practice.<sup>2</sup> Composing poems to be sung by choruses of citizens at some local cult, the poets of the choral lyric inevitably mingled prayers for the city with praise of the protecting god; and the chorus as retained in tragedy, itself a religious rite, kept the marks of its origin in the myths, prayers, and advice which it frequently expressed. Finally, the many national gatherings, of which the games at Delphi and Olympia were the most prominent, were religious festivals. Pindar, therefore, in praising victorious athletes sees their human achievements primarily in the light of the great tales of gods and demi-gods. His tone is exalted, his style often oracular, and he utters frequent prayers and precepts.<sup>3</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that, before Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> men judged poetry largely by the standards of technical excellence and moral effect. The first does not concern us here; the second shows what authority poets possessed as teachers and interpreters. Precisely because he felt this

<sup>1</sup> Alfred et Maurice Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, Paris (Ancienne Librairie Fontemoing & Cie.), 4th ed., 1928, I, pp. 58-61.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Jebb, *Bacchylides*, Cambridge (The University Press), 1905, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Richard Jebb, "Pindar," in *Essays and Addresses*, Cambridge (The University Press), 1907, pp. 41-103. Cf. p. 60, "If he magnifies his art, it is because the part which he fills is not only that of a minstrel; it is closely allied to the function of the priest and the seer."

<sup>4</sup> J. W. H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*, Cambridge (The University Press), 1934, pp. 7, 23, 28.

authority, Xenophanes<sup>1</sup> protested against the tales told of the gods by Homer and Hesiod; and Pindar for the same reason felt it his duty to purge the grossness from many myths.<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes in a celebrated passage in the *Frogs*<sup>3</sup> makes Dionysus ask Aeschylus and Euripides to tell how they have benefited Athens; the god's very journey in the play to Hades in search of a poet shows the civic importance of the dramatists. But Plato reveals perhaps most clearly the Greek conception of poetry. In excluding certain poetic forms from the perfect state and accepting others, he dwells at length on the moral influence of poets and makes elaborate provision that it should conform to his ideal.<sup>4</sup>

When Horace, then, attempted the Greek lyric forms in Latin, he looked back upon a tradition that was both religious and civic. Another class of lyric poetry, to be sure, had neither of these qualities, that developed by Sappho and Alcaeus and extended by Anacreon, the lyric poetry written for a single voice and concerned with love, wine, and the intense or light emotions of private life. To both of these, the monodic tradition of Lesbos and the choral tradition of the Greek mainland, Horace looked equally. Yet however closely he studied Greek lyric poetry, it was both unlikely and undesirable that he should reproduce the ancient forms exactly. Even in the great age of Greece all classes of lyric poetry had been gradually extended from their origin in specific cults to a more general and secular use where they retained a certain religious quality only for the reason already stated, that secular and religious spheres were divided by no sharp line. And with the decline of the Greek city-states declined also the national beliefs and local institutions which had nourished poetry. Politically, the age of small independent cities had yielded to that of the great empires, first of Macedon, Antioch, and Egypt, and then of Rome, and — what for us is most important — philosophical thought had widened proportionately. With their broad precepts, Stoicism and Epicureanism, to cite only the chief of the many schools, gave that direction and strength to

<sup>1</sup> *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig (Teubner), 1925, Xenophanes, fg. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol.* 1, 31-53. *P.* 3, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ll.* 1019-1098.

<sup>4</sup> *Republic* 2, 386a-403c.



individual life which had formerly been given by inherited local tradition. The change was not less true of Rome than of Greece. Horace, then, if he were to write with any fidelity to life, had to embody the contemporary wisdom of the popular philosophies in the Greek lyric forms evolved before the philosophies, or the need of them, had arisen.

Through the inevitable changes of time, then, Horace's poetry differed sensibly from the Greek lyric poetry which was its inspiration. And that Horace was a Roman and embodied in his odes the legends and traditions of Italy caused it to differ yet further. Yet what most nearly concerns us is to see that, however new the content and spirit of his poetry may have been, his attitude towards it remained that of his Greek predecessors. In his literary epistles he speaks of the religious origins of poetry;<sup>1</sup> poets were the civilizers and teachers of mankind and men's intermediaries with the gods. He accordingly directs many of his odes to the gods in praise of their gifts, in prayer for their help, or in honor of their holidays. Not less aware of the civic functions of Greek choral poetry, he writes also on national themes, and his most elaborate compositions, the six odes at the beginning of Book III, marked by their exceptional length and uniform metre, concern the moral and social foundations of Roman government. Finally, in his lighter odes he so far altered the tradition of Sappho and Alcaeus as to make even these poems the vehicle of his quiet precepts. It was here especially that he cited the maxims of the philosophers and, in so doing, carried his moral conceptions of poetry even into the privacy of personal life. His themes are moderation, the shortness of life, the beauty of friendship and tranquil hours, the triumph of reasoned virtue over chance, and others of the sort, expressed by sudden generalizations and often illustrated by myths and examples.

His attitude towards his art is reflected in his calling himself "Musarum sacerdos" and in his many statements of passionate dedication to the Muses. In Campbell's words, he felt<sup>2</sup> "his function as a poet to be of a sacerdotal kind, to be, though not identical with, yet strictly analogous to, that of a priest." This was the more true because, with the spread of ancient civilization, the old forms of local worship everywhere

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 2, 1, 124-138; *Ars Poetica*, 391-406.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 80. Also W. Y. Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, Oxford (The Clarendon Press), 1899, p. 135.

declined. For the upper classes at least, literature and philosophy assumed its place.<sup>1</sup> Yet men did not discard the old myths and religious practices. These became, on the contrary, the chosen theme of poetry. Spiritualized in themselves and enriched from the philosophies, they permitted such a poet as Horace to fulfil in a broader sphere the traditional religious functions of poetry.

This is perhaps enough to illustrate very generally one of the conceptions in which the ancient world is singularly at variance with the modern. But a word should be added concerning the exact form of Horace's lighter poems. If what was stated above is true, that with his reflective cast of thought Horace transformed the passionate tradition of Aeolic verse into a vehicle more suited both to himself and to his times, then it is clear why he addresses his poems to his contemporaries. For many of the poems of Sappho and Alcaeus were so addressed. In any case, outside his invocations to the gods and his national odes, few poems are without a direct appeal to a person, sometimes further described by a general phrase, as in the well known line,<sup>2</sup>

Maecenas, atavis edite regibus,

sometimes merely mentioned in the course of a poem. Horace follows this form even in the odes to Augustus,<sup>3</sup> in other respects not without resemblance to the national odes at the beginning of Book III.

The purpose of these appeals is varied. At times they carry a true invitation to join Horace. Again, they stand in poems of a more general sort, where, it is to be presumed, the connection between the subject of the ode and the tastes or fortune of the person addressed was well known. They appear equally in the lightest of the odes, such as 1, 5, and the most reflective, such as 2, 3. But it need hardly be said that Horace had other purposes in his odes than merely thus to give invitation, advice, or praise to a single person. The address was a form which he evolved for his verse, and although far from empty, it was yet subordinate to the moral and religious purposes of which I have already spoken. In short, by using the address, Horace kept something

<sup>1</sup> W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, London (Macmillan Co.), 1914, pp. 134-161.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 1, 1, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 4, 5 and 15.

of the informal tradition of Sappho and Alcaeus, while at the same time, in estimating his contemporaries and laying down moral precepts, he recreated for his own age the priestly tradition of Greek choral poetry.

## IV

With so much concerning the form of Horace's odes and the idea of his calling which underlies them, we may return to the eight sonnets which Milton addressed to his contemporaries. Their general form has been already described as well as illustrated in the example of the sonnet to Fairfax. Something has also been said of the very conscious ideals which Milton entertained for his own poetry. These, it has been suggested, were particularly in his mind after his return from Italy, when he abandoned his plans for further verse to aid in the struggle against the established church. Certainly it is in the early pamphlets, *Reason of Church Government* and *Apology for Smectymnuus*, written in 1642, the year of the 8th sonnet, that he sets forth these ideals most fully, and the passages already quoted from the former pamphlet show how directly his ideals are inspired by ancient conceptions of poetry. It is not to be denied that the idea of the great man's power to affect his contemporaries through words was one common also to the Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> But the idea was ultimately derived from ancient sources, and in Milton's mind must in large part have sprung directly from these. With their wealth of contemporary writings, the Italians, however deeply inspired by the Classics, were far more ready to abide by their own conceptions of poetry than was a young Englishman reared in relative seclusion on the writings of the past. In addition, the peculiar circumstances which greeted Milton on his return from Italy to find his country engaged in a struggle at once political and religious can only have impressed him further with the task and opportunity awaiting a poet guided by the ancient ideals of his calling. He in fact performed this service "sitting here below in the cool element of prose."<sup>2</sup> It is in the sonnets alone that he spoke on things both religious and civic in those tones of pronouncement which ancient standards of poetry had taught him to demand of himself as a poet.

<sup>1</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> *Reason of Church Government*, Bohn, II, p. 476.

It was said earlier in this paper that any essential resemblance of the sonnets to Horace's odes would ultimately spring from Milton's opinion that his purposes as a poet resembled Horace's and that the sonnet in his hands could approximate the Horatian ode. The first of these points has, in effect, been already discussed. Beyond any English poet Milton was suited by his education, character, and the circumstances of his life to embody the poetic ideals of the ancients. If he had had leisure in the ten years following his return from Italy to write his *Arthuriad*, it can hardly be doubted that the poem would have been a national epic after the pattern of the *Aeneid*. As it was, his self-appointed duties permitted him only the sonnets, and he carried into these the ideals which would have animated a larger work. To say, then, that his purposes were similar to Horace's is incontestably true in the broad sense that both poets felt it their place to estimate and reward the private or public virtues of their contemporaries from the independent, almost priestly, vantage-point of poetry. The question, therefore, for this essay narrows itself to the second point, namely, Milton's opinion that the sonnet in his hands could approximate the Horatian ode, and to this the rest of the essay will be devoted.

We may begin with Milton's practice of addressing persons by name in the eight sonnets already described. Professor Smart, it has been said, sees the origin of this use in Tasso and the polite tradition of the Italian sonneteers. But that Milton associated such addresses directly with Horace is proved by the often-cited and obvious indebtedness of "Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son" to "O matre pulchra filia pulchrior."<sup>1</sup> No other address echoes Horace so closely, although the opening lines of the 10th and the 21st sonnets, "Daughter to that good Earl, once President" and "Cyriack, whose grandsire on the Royal Bench," are reminiscent of phrases in the odes describing descent, "Maecenas atavis edite regibus,"<sup>2</sup> "Tyrrhena regum progenies,"<sup>3</sup> or "Aeli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo."<sup>4</sup> "Cromwell, our chief of men" likewise suggests the vocatives "dux bone,"<sup>5</sup> "optume Romulae custos gentis,"<sup>6</sup> "maxime principum,"<sup>7</sup> with which Horace addresses Augus-

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 1, 16, 1. Cf. also *P. L.* 9, 538 "Fairest resemblance of thy maker fair."

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 1, 1, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 3, 29, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 3, 17, 1. Compare Bridges's remarks, quoted on p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 4, 5, 5 and 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* 4, 5, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Od.* 4, 14, 6.



tus, and that Milton felt the Latinity of such vocatives is amply clear from the passages in the *Defensio Secunda* where he directly addresses Cromwell and Fairfax.

These passages are interesting in their frequent closeness of sense and phrase to the sonnets. In vindicating his private life Milton thus describes a part of his purpose in writing:<sup>1</sup>

deinde, ut quos laudandos mihi sumo viros illustres ac laude dignos, hi sciant nihil me pudendum magis existimare, quam si ad eorum laudes vituperandus ipse ac nequam accederem.

The sonnets to his great contemporaries are written with the same purpose of giving praise. With this intent, after praising Cromwell's fortitude, as in the sonnet, and enumerating his victories, Milton goes on to say that the hopes of the Commonwealth rest in him. The ensuing passage may be cited as an example of that Latinity of thought and phrase which is the inspiration of Milton's style in the sonnets.<sup>2</sup>

Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus et gloriosissimus, dux publici consilii, fortissimorum exercituum Imperator, pater patriae gessisti: sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium et animitus missa voce salutaris: alios titulos te dignos tua facta non norunt, non ferunt, et superbos illos, vulgi licet opinione magnos, merito respuunt: Quid enim est titulus, nisi definitus quidam dignitatis modus? tuae res gestae cum admirationis, tum certe titulorum modum omnem excedunt; et velut pyramidum apices caelo se condunt, populari titulorum aura excelsiores.

Or one may quote his invocation to Fairfax:<sup>3</sup>

Sed neque te fas est praeterire, Fairfaxi, in quo cum summa fortitudine summam modestiam, summam vitae sanctitatem, et natura et divinus favor coniunxit: Tu harum in partem laudum evocandus tuo iure ac merito es; quamquam in illo nunc tuo secessu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille Scipio, abdis te quoad potes, nec hostem solum, sed ambitionem, et quae praestantissimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque vicisti, tuisque virtutibus et praeclare factis iucundissimum et gloriosissimum per otium frueris, quod est laborum omnium et humanarum actionum vel maximarum finis, qualique otio cum antiqui Heroes post bella et decora tuis haud maiora fruerentur, qui eos laudare conati sunt poetae, desperabant se posse alia

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Milton*, edited by the Rev. John Mitford, London (William Pickering), 1851, VI, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 319.

ratione id quale esset describere, nisi eos fabularentur caelo receptos deorum epulis accumbere.<sup>1</sup>

These passages are far more ample than the corresponding sonnets. They differ from them also in their precise import. Yet in movement, phrase, and imagery they are strikingly similar.

We are brought, therefore, to inquire what kind of similarity between Milton and Horace we must seek. Certainly an exact correspondence of phrase for phrase is not necessary to prove a deep-lying kinship. The detailed imitations of the 20th and the 21st sonnets have often been observed. What is less clear and therefore to be insisted upon at the risk of repetition is the conscious Latinity of Milton's thought and style based upon that classical understanding of his function as a poet which has already been discussed. Granted that, echoes of Horace are inevitable; for he is the classic poet beyond compare who addresses his contemporaries on private or public themes. Jonson's *Ode on the Friendship of Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison* and Marvell's *Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland* are only longer and more transparent attempts to transplant Horace's poetic method into English. But when Milton calls Cromwell in the sonnet "our chief of men" and renders the same thought in the Latin of the *Defensio Secunda* as "tu patriae liberator, libertatis auctor, custosque idem et conservator"<sup>2</sup> one thinks immediately, and Milton could only have thought, of Horace's praise of Augustus. Again, when the idea inherent in the phrase applied to Fairfax, "thy firm unshaken virtue," appears in Milton's Latin "nec hostem solum sed ambitionem et, quae praestantissimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque vicisti," its relation to ideas inevitably stamped by associations with Horace is clear.<sup>3</sup> One must largely seek, then, in the sonnets a classical and Horatian cast of thought, and expect the phrasing of such thoughts to be Milton's own creation. He refashioned old ideas with his own sure classicism of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Od.* 3, 3, 9-12: Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules/enisus arcis attigit igneas, / quos inter Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibet ore nectar.

<sup>2</sup> Mitford, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Horace's praise of Lollius (*Od.* 4, 9, 37-38): vindex avarae fraudis et abstinentis / ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae. For the conquest of ambition, cf. *Serm.* 1, 6, 52-129; *Epist.* 2, 2, 207; of glory, cf. *Serm.* 2, 3, 179-223. For Horace's praise of Augustus in war and peace, cf. *Od.* 3, 4, 37-40.



phrase precisely because Horace's phrases and thoughts were planted deep in his being.

As examples of phrases which have no parallel in Horace but yet possess the true ring of classicism may be cited the three addresses not as yet discussed. These are "Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured lyre," "Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings," and "Vane, young in years but in sage counsel old." Pattison<sup>1</sup> quotes parallels to the second and third of these respectively from *Orlando Furioso* and *Du Bartas*, and whether or not Milton consciously imitates these passages, it is needless to say that allusion was a part of his general poetic manner. The practice had the authority of the greatest Greek and Latin poets, and justly; for imitation is inevitable on the classic theory that poetry has a moral and social function in conveying the wisdom of the past. Enough has been said to show that Milton fully subscribed to this theory. As a result, by transmuting the phrases of other authors in his own verse, he speaks with a kind of aggregate authority, itself the product of the enormous learning with which he prepared himself for his calling. This bears out what was said above. In following more often the spirit than the letter of Horace's addresses to his contemporaries, Milton most truly rendered the form of the ancient address into English.

An obvious example may illustrate how he may quote from sources other than classical and thereby not impair, but rather increase, the classical effect of a poem. In the 20th sonnet, an invitation to Lawrence in the manner of Horace, Milton urges his friend to pass a winter's day with him. He continues:

Time will run  
On smoother till Favonius reinspire  
The frozen earth and clothe in new attire  
The lily and rose that neither sowed nor spun.

The quotation from *Matthew*<sup>2</sup> in a poem wholly classical in manner is not discordant, nor does it detract from the essential classicism of the sonnet. On the contrary, to have omitted reference to Christianity would have shown that that classicism was superficial and could not

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 178, 194.

<sup>2</sup> 6, 28. Cf. pp. 64-65.

bear the expression of Milton's complete mind. As it is, the reference renders Milton's thought as fully as a citation of mythology or phrase from Alcaeus would have rendered Horace's. The poetic manner is therefore completely and wholly transferred into English.

Although not without certain exact echoes of Horace, the phrases of address in the sonnets are thus the product of Milton's free adaptation of the form into English. The long relative clauses, moreover, by which he usually describes the person addressed bear closer relation to the Italian sonnet than the Horatian ode. Horace, to be sure, occasionally combines his vocatives with a long descriptive clause in the manner of the sonnets, as for instance in *Od.* 2, 7,

Pompei meorum prime sodalium,  
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero  
fregi coronatus nitentes  
malobathro Syrio capillos.

But he more often simply interposes the vocatives in the course of the sentence, as in *Od.* 2, 11,

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,  
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria  
divisus obiecto, remittas  
quaerere.

Tasso, on the other hand, frequently extends the clause of address through the first four lines of the sonnet, as in the 76th of the *Rime Eroiche*,

Signor, ch'in picciol corpo animo chiudi  
Immenso, e cogli ancor tra' fiori e l'erba  
Frutto senil nella tua etade acerba  
D'alti e chiari intelletti e di virtudi.

Milton, however, with his characteristic fondness for long poetic periods, so commonly extends the clause of address to four <sup>1</sup> or eight <sup>2</sup> lines, that one may see in this use a kind of poetic manner which he adopted in his sonnets to his contemporaries. The fact only shows once more how, whatever may have been his debt to Horace or Tasso, he recreated the poem of address into an instrument stamped with his own mind.

<sup>1</sup> Sonnets 9, 13, 15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnets 10, 16, 17.

The resemblances to Horace outside the phrases of direct address may best be taken up in the individual sonnets, and I begin with the 10th, that to Lady Margaret Ley.

Daughter to that good Earl, once President  
 Of England's Council, and her Treasury,  
 Who lived in both unstained with gold or fee,  
 And left them both, more in himself content;  
 Till the sad breaking of that Parliament  
 Broke him, as that dishonest victory  
 At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,  
 Killed with report that old man eloquent;  
 Though later born than to have known the days  
 Wherein your father flourished, yet by you,  
 Madam, methinks I see him living yet;  
 So well your words his noble virtues praise  
 That all both judge you to relate them true  
 And to possess them, honored Margaret.

Three points in the sonnet are especially worthy of comment. In the first place, the opening four lines, besides rephrasing Horace's familiar themes of honesty and contentment,<sup>1</sup> are Horatian in the sense of achieving their poetic effect out of the description of a man's official life. Thus when Horace says of Pollio,<sup>2</sup>

Insigne maestis praesidium reis  
 et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,  
 cui laurus aeternos honores  
 Delmatico peperit triumpho,

he achieves a sonorousness the greater for the associations investing the thought of high office honestly held. Secondly, Milton in the next four lines cites a famous example from the past in Horace's manner. The particular allusion to Isocrates is most interesting here. For in the *Areopagitica*, written probably within a short time of this sonnet, Milton speaks of Isocrates as one who, like himself, wrote on public questions:<sup>3</sup>

I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens, that persuaded them to change the form of democracy

<sup>1</sup> *Serm.* 1, 6, 96; *Od.* 2, 2, 9-24; 3, 3, 49-51 (quoted in *P. L.* 1, 688).

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 2, 1, 13-16. Similar is *Od.* 4, 9, 34-44.

<sup>3</sup> Bohn, II, p. 52.

which was then established. Such honor was done in those days to men who proposed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country but in other lands, that cities and signories heard them gladly and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state.

It is impossible that such civic associations did not cling to the name in the sonnet also, and one sees again by this slight indication how political Milton's ideals of poetry were in these years. The isolation and disappointment which he felt by the time that he composed *Paradise Lost* caused him to turn his thoughts inwards and to abandon the immediate for the eternal. The sonnets alone show what the spirit of his poetry would have been, had he not turned his energies to prose. Horace's verses describing Regulus<sup>1</sup> as the model of old Roman virtue were uttered in no more classic a tone of poetic advice than these verses portraying Lord Marlborough in the light of the ancient champion of liberty.

But, finally, this sonnet is not one of public exhortation like those to Cromwell, Fairfax, or Vane, but a compliment. Yet the poem implies a moral judgement. Lady Margaret resembles her father, who in turn was a man of eminence and virtue. The sestet turning the compliment to Lady Margaret is, to be sure, Italian in manner, and Professor Smart cites parallels to the last line ending in the proper name.<sup>2</sup> Yet the interweaving of serious themes in a poem ostensibly a complimentary address should be noted as eminently Horatian. Just so in the *Ode to Rouse*, before turning to the praise of the Oxford librarian, Milton speaks of the civil war in phrases that recall Horace.<sup>3</sup> And Horace himself in poems of invitation or address habitually so turns the thought that a judgement or generalization arises often from a trifling circumstance. Thus in *Od.* 1, 20, in offering his modest wine to his patron, he recalls that it was casked in the year when Maecenas was applauded

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 3, 5, 13-56.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Strophe* 2: *Modo quis deus, aut editus deo / Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem / (Si satis noxas luimus priores / Mollique luxu degener otium) / Tollat nefandos civium tumultus, / Almaque revocet studia sanctus / Et relegatas sine sede Musas / Iam pene totis finibus Angligenum.* For Horace's similar appeal to an unnamed god or hero, cf. *Od.* 1, 2, 25-52. For his expressions of national guilt, cf. *Epod.* 7, 17-20; *Od.* 1, 2, 47; 1, 35, 33-40; 2, 1, 25-36. For the blessings of peace, cf. *Od.* 4, 15, 9-20, especially the last four lines.

in the theatre on appearing after an illness. He concludes by contrasting his wine to Maecenas's. The ode is highly complimentary; and yet the well known themes of Horace's moderation and Maecenas's deserved eminence are inevitably applied. And many other examples could show Horace's characteristic method of achieving a moral generalization out of some trifling politeness which elicited the poem.<sup>1</sup> The difference between Milton's and Horace's thought is obvious. What is important is that their method is similar, and that Milton follows Horace because of a fundamental sympathy of poetic aims.

After the two sonnets on the reception of Milton's tracts on divorce, which I shall consider later, follows the 13th, *To Mr. Henry Lawes on the publishing of his Aires*. It is a complimentary poem rendering many Latin ideas on poetry and music.

Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song  
 First taught our English Music how to span  
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan  
 With Midas' ears, committing short and long,  
 Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng,  
 With praise enough for Envy to look wan;  
 To after age thou shalt be writ the man  
 That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.  
 Thou honourest Verse, and Verse must lend her wing  
 To honour thee, the priest of Phoebus' quire,  
 That tunest their happy lines in hymn or story.  
 Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher  
 Than his Casella, whom he wooed to sing,  
 Met in the milder shades of Purgatory.

The two phrases "exempts thee from the throng" and "priest of Phoebus' quire" render exactly Horace's "*secernunt populo*"<sup>2</sup> and "*Musarum sacerdos*."<sup>3</sup> Scarcely less Horatian, and at all events derived from Latin, are the ideas of scansion, envy, and the adaptation of musical forms to a language. The phrase "committing [confusing] short and long" describes classical scansion, and although "with

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 2, 11 and 4, 11 are good examples.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 1, 1, 32. Noted by Pattison, *op. cit.*, p. 169. He also considers the phrase "thou shalt be writ" an imitation of *Od.* 1, 6, 1: *Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium / victor*.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 3, 1, 3.



Midas' ears" echoes Ovid<sup>1</sup> and perhaps Persius,<sup>2</sup> the idea of a faulty ear causing mistakes in scansion is reminiscent of the passage of the *Ars Poetica*<sup>3</sup> on metre and particularly of the concluding line,

legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.

Horace customarily speaks of his success as a poet as a gradual triumph over envy.<sup>4</sup> He states as his enduring source of fame,<sup>5</sup>

princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos  
deduxisse modos.

Finally, the example bringing the poem to a quiet close has already been pointed out as Horatian. In sum, Milton in this sonnet instinctively renders into English many of Horace's ideas. The cause can only be that he considered the sonnet as, *mutatis mutandis*, a counterpart of the classic ode. Kept from the longer poetic forms which he had hoped to attempt, he perforce chose the shorter, adapting his manner to it with that tact with which in *Paradise Lost* he follows the traditions of the classical epic.<sup>6</sup>

After the sonnet *On the religious memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomason* follow now the three celebrated political sonnets, numbered from 15 to 17, addressed respectively to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Vane. The closely similar passages already quoted from the Latin of the *Defensio Secunda* sufficiently illustrate the underlying Latinity of thought in these poems. Granted indeed Milton's position as Latin Secretary, his ideals as a poet, and the classic associations with which, if I am correct, he already regarded the sonnet-form, then it could only follow that in these sonnets he should address the political leaders of the time in those mingled tones of praise and poetic authority which we have seen reason to consider classical. There is proof that he had begun to distrust the run of leaders and to fix his hopes increasingly on certain great individuals.<sup>7</sup> It is generally thought that, in the political despair of the

<sup>1</sup> *Metam.* 11, 146-179.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* 1, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ll.* 251-274.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 2, 16, 39; 2, 20, 4; 4, 3, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 3, 30, 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert Murray, *The Classical Tradition in Poetry*, Cambridge (Harvard University Press), 1930, pp. 7-22.

<sup>7</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-198.



three years preceding the execution of Charles I, he finally abandoned his plans of a national epic. He poured into the sonnets the residue of these plans and, like Horace, took upon himself the task of setting forth his hopes for the state in addressing those whom he thought capable of fulfilling them. As in the *Defensio Secunda* he sees himself as vindicating his country's policy before all Europe,<sup>1</sup> so in the sonnets he assumes the rôle, long since prophesied in his earlier writings,<sup>2</sup> of moral guide and teacher of his countrymen.

Horace's odes on the state are many and varied. The earliest castigate the sin of civil war,<sup>3</sup> a theme which Milton echoes in the second strophe of the *Ode to Rouse*. Others are a rejoicing for victory.<sup>4</sup> A third class, religious in form, express prayers or thanksgiving for divine help.<sup>5</sup> A fourth, in which are to be counted the great national odes of Book III, warn against current vices and exhort to the older virtues.<sup>6</sup> And finally others are in direct praise of the Emperor's achievement or that of members of his family.<sup>7</sup> The poems of the last two classes especially are uttered in that tone of gnomic wisdom and half-priestly authority wherein Horace followed the tradition of Pindar and the Greek choral poets.

To the odes of none of these classes do the three sonnets in question correspond exactly, and for the lack of detailed resemblances one might be excused in seeing, like Professor Smart, an indebtedness only to Tasso's heroic sonnets. Yet other reasons argue the contrary, among which not least is the purity and classicism of Milton's style. This, to be sure, can be considered as merely the fruit of his superb scholarship, a peculiar quality of his mind seen in the early as well as in the later poems. Yet the development of his style was certainly in a direction away from the exuberance of the Renaissance and towards a stricter classicism,<sup>8</sup> and the position of the sonnets as spanning the two periods

<sup>1</sup> See the passage quoted on the following page.

<sup>2</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Epod.* 7; *Od.* 1, 2, 14, and 35; 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Epod.* 9; *Od.* 1, 37; 3, 14; 4, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 1, 2 and 31; *Carmen Saeculare*.

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* 3, 1-6, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Od.* 1, 12; 4, 4, 5, 14, and 15.

<sup>8</sup> For Milton's imitation of various and, at times, discordant styles in some of his early works, see Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38, 50-51, 66-71.

of Milton's verse is in this respect very significant. We have seen that he poured into them much of his original impulse to write a national poem in the manner of Virgil and that his whole attitude to poetry was increasingly the classical one of teacher. When therefore the sonnets differ from Tasso's in a higher seriousness and a lack of the ornamental imagery common to the Renaissance, that is no accident but the expression of Milton's preponderant sympathy for older models. In practice this sympathy fixed on Horace, the inevitable model for short poems, and was expressed, as we have seen, in direct imitation and, more commonly, in a rephrasing of ideas. To this latter point I now return. One who reads these three sonnets with Horace in mind can only be struck by a haunting similarity of feeling, although the phrases and thought are in the truest sense Milton's own.

The sonnet to Fairfax (see page 40) illustrates these points. Except the eighth, no line would be unfitting a classical poet. The prospect of far lands and kings given in the octave is entirely Horatian. Just so in the *Defensio Secunda* Milton speaks of his audience:<sup>1</sup>

Iam videor mihi ingressus iter transmarinos tractus et porrectas late regiones sublimis perlustrare. . . . Hinc Germanorum virile et infestum servituti robur, inde Francorum vividi dignique nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hispanorum consulta virtus, Italorum inde sedata suique compos magnanimitas ob oculos versatur.

Both passages go back to Horace's repeated enumerations of foreign peoples, whether as witnesses to his won fame, as in *Od.* 2, 20, 13-20,

Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro  
visam gementis litora Bospori  
Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus  
ales Hyperboreosque campos.

Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum  
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi  
noscent Geloni, me peritus  
discet Hiber Rhodanique poter.

or to Rome's greatness, as in the similar passage, *Od.* 4, 14, 41-52. Again, the ideas inherent in the phrases "that daunt remotest kings,"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mitford, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace's ode on Fortune (*Od.* 1, 35, 9-12): te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae / urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox / regumque matres barbarorum et / purpurei metuunt tyranni. 3, 2, 6-9 is similar.

"thy firm unshaken virtue,"<sup>1</sup> "their Hydra heads,"<sup>2</sup> "the false North,"<sup>3</sup> are paralleled in spirit, if not in letter, in the odes. And finally, the tone of exhortation and the striking and memorable generalizations of the sestet are an incomparable rendering of the spirit of Horace's civic verse. Thus in *Od.* 3, 24, 25-29, he urges public reform,

O quisquis volet impias  
caedis et rabiem tollere civicam,  
si quaeret pater urbium  
subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat  
refrenare licentiam,

continuing with a question in Milton's manner,

quid leges sine moribus  
vanae proficiunt?

Horace's striking generalizations are too well known to demand extensive illustration; a single strophe from the great ode on government will perhaps suffice to show his general practice. After describing the battle of the gods and giants, he says suddenly,<sup>4</sup>

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:  
vim temperatam di quoque provehunt  
in maius; idem odere viris  
omne nefas animo moventis.

No sonnet such as this to Fairfax had appeared hitherto in English. The immediate impulse which prompted it was Milton's passionate interest in the public welfare, but the ultimate inspiration came from a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 49, where the Latinity of thought underlying this phrase was discussed. One may cite also Horace's celebrated description of the virtuous man (*Od.* 3, 3, 1-4), the last line of which is most reminiscent of Milton's phrase: *Iustum et tenacem propositi virum / non civium ardor prava iubentium, / non voltus instantis tyranni / mente quatit solida.*

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 4, 4, 61-62: *Non hydra secto corpore firmior / vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem.*

<sup>3</sup> The similarity here is not to be insisted upon. The citation from Horace is merely meant to illustrate a certain classic largeness in Milton's phrase. Horace thus speaks of an army fighting in the east (*Od.* 1, 35, 31-32): *examen Eois timendum / partibus oceanoque rubro.*

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 3, 4, 65-68.

classical ideal of verse so deeply implanted in his mind that he instinctively rendered the spirit of it in English, though no single phrase might betray a precise origin.

What has been said of the sonnet to Fairfax is equally true of those to Cromwell and Vane. Perfect vehicles of Milton's own belief, they nevertheless follow closely Horace's poetic manner and cast of expression. The sonnet to Cromwell follows.

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud  
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,  
 Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,  
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,  
 And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud  
 Hast reared God's trophies and his work pursued,  
 While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,  
 And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,  
 And Worcester's laureate wreath; yet much remains  
 To conquer still; Peace hath her victories  
 No less renowned than war; new foes arise  
 Threatning to bind our souls with secular chains;  
 Help us to save free Conscience from the paw  
 Of hireling wolves whose Gospel is their maw.

The spirit of the invocation has already been discussed. The phrase "a cloud not of war only" renders Virgil's "nubem belli."<sup>1</sup> The idea of "detractions rude," strikingly expressed in Pericles's funeral oration,<sup>2</sup> is applied by Horace to malevolent criticisms of Augustus's reforms,<sup>3</sup>

virtutem incolumem odimus,  
 sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.  
 Quid tristes querimoniae,  
 si non supplicio culpa reciditur?

Most Horatian is the list of victories which follows. One may compare such lines as <sup>4</sup>

cantemus Augusti tropaea  
 Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten

<sup>1</sup> *Aen.* 10, 809. Noted by Pattison, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides 2, 35, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 3, 24, 31-34.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 2, 9, 19-24.

Medumque flumen gentibus additum  
 victis minores volvere vertices,  
 intraque praescriptum Gelonos  
 exiguis equitare campis.

The list resembles in its exactness those descriptions of a man's career in the sonnet to Lady Margaret Ley and the first sonnet to Skinner. Lines 7 to 9 contain three close parallels to Horace: "with blood of Scots imbrued" to *Od.* 2, 1, 33-36;<sup>1</sup> "Worcester's laureate wreath" to the earlier lines of the same ode, 15-16;<sup>2</sup> and "resounds thy praises loud" to *Od.* 1, 20, 6-8.<sup>3</sup> Finally the Ciceronian aphorism, "multae res extiterunt urbanae maiores glorioresque quam bellicae,"<sup>4</sup> heightened in the notable lines,

Peace hath her victories  
 No less renowned than war,

renders superbly the spirit of those gnomic utterances by which, as we saw, the ancient ode habitually mounted from the specific to the general.

Unlike the two foregoing sonnets, that to Vane is one less of exhortation than of praise.

Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,  
 Than whom a better senator ne'er held  
 The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled  
 The fierce Epirote and the African bold,  
 Whether to settle peace or to unfold  
 The drift of hollow States, hard to be spelled,  
 Then to advise how War may best upheld  
 Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,  
 In all her equipage; besides to know  
 Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,  
 What severs each thou hast learnt, which few have done.  
 The bounds of either sword to thee we owe.  
 Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans  
 In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

<sup>1</sup> Qui gurgis aut quae flumina lugubris / ignara belli? Quod mare Daunia / non decoloravere caedes?

<sup>2</sup> (Pollio) cui laurus aeternos honores / Delmatico peperit triumpho.

<sup>3</sup> (Maecenas) redderet laudes tibi Vaticani / montis imago.

<sup>4</sup> *De Officiis*, 1, 22, 74. Noted by Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 92.



Pattison, it has been noted,<sup>1</sup> cites a parallel to the first line from *Du Bartas*, but the dignified antithesis of Milton's line is wholly classical in form. The effect is heightened by the list of Rome's enemies which follows<sup>2</sup> and in the Latin thought of the phrase "when gowns, not arms, repelled," to which Smart justly compares Cicero's words in the *De Officiis*<sup>3</sup> "parvi enim sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi" and his verse "cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae." Again, the movement of lines 5 to 11, where a series of infinitive clauses are linked together by the conjunctions "whether — or — then — besides" is entirely Latinate, and one thinks inevitably of Horace's celebrated description of Pindar,<sup>4</sup> where by means of the conjunctions "seu — seu — sive — et" four descriptive stanzas follow upon the phrase "Laurea donandus Apollinari." The resemblance is heightened if, according to Smart's punctuation which I follow, the first three clauses introduced by "whether — or — then" are considered to depend on the words "a better senator" rather than upon the ultimate verb "thou has learnt." The reminiscence of Thucydides<sup>5</sup> in the phrase "her two main nerves, iron and gold" completes the classical references of the sonnet. The Biblical expression of the last line, as well as the notion of spiritual and civil power, only show the more clearly that Milton had completely adapted the manner of the classical poet to his own thought. Like the line already quoted from the sonnet to Lawrence,

The lily and rose that neither sowed nor spun,

these Christian expressions are the final proof that in the sonnets the spirit of the ancient ode, fully at home in English, was capable of bearing even those ideas which, considered literally, were foreign to it.

<sup>1</sup> P. 51.

<sup>2</sup> One may compare Horace's lines (*Epod.* 16, 3-8): Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi / minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus, / aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer / novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox, / nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube / parentibusque abominatus Hannibal. Cf. also *Od.* 3, 6, 35-36.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 22, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 4, 2, 9-24.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 83. Noted by Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

## V

The foregoing sonnets were composed during the years when by his prose Milton actively supported the government both at home and abroad. By 1652, however, he was already blind, and three years later, his great defence of the government in the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* and the *Defensio Secunda* at last complete, he retired into private life from the position of Latin Secretary. He now enjoyed deep peace of mind; he had triumphed over the tragic misfortune of his blindness and was perhaps already contemplating *Paradise Lost*, the composition of which he actually began in 1658. Proof of his serene and tranquil mood has with justice been found in the 20th and the 21st sonnets, poems usually referred to as Milton's Horatian sonnets.<sup>1</sup> Wholeheartedly, however, as I agree in the beauty and peace of these sonnets, it seems to me mistaken to put the matter so. In the preceding active years, as we have seen, Milton addressed his contemporaries in those classic tones of public praise and exhortation which reflected both his conceptions of poetry and his passionate public interest. He followed Horace in spirit and, at times, in letter, turning instinctively to that sizable and important part of the latter's verse which is concerned with public questions and which therefore presented itself as a model. In those years he would have had small interest in the lighter odes in which Horace is men's guide and philosopher in private hours. With his retirement, however, matters changed, and his thoughts turned to that part of Horace with which he had had no concern before. Yet however better known the side of Horace is which now attracted Milton, it is not the whole of Horace, nor would Milton have come to it without his earlier attempt to model his public utterance in verse on Horace's civic odes. Milton's practice, on the contrary, is the same in the present as in the earlier sonnets. Out of such an address to a person as is appropriate to the occasion at hand, like Horace, he elicits a moral aphorism concerning, as the case may be, either public or private life.

It is impossible to overpraise the delicate and sure touch with which Milton in these sonnets makes Horace's lighter manner his own. The 20th sonnet is an invitation, like several in Horace, in which the poet,

<sup>1</sup> The references are given on p. 29.

after contrasting the outer world of nature to the quiet scene of the meeting of friends, passes to some generalization concerning the conduct of life. The poem, as is perhaps natural in Milton's blindness, does not so much reproduce one ode as the spirit of many odes, and what is most masterly, does so in such a way as to lose nothing of Horace's charm while yet conveying perfectly Milton's more puritan and austere temperance.

Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son,  
 Now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire,  
 Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire  
 Help waste a sullen day; what may be won  
 From the hard season gaining? Time will run  
 On smoother, till Favonius re-inspire  
 The frozen earth, and clothe in new attire  
 The lily and rose, that neither sowed nor spun.  
 What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,  
 Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise  
 To hear the lute well touched, or artful voice  
 Warble immortal notes and Tuscan air?  
 He who of these delights can judge, and spare  
 To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

The phrase of address, as has been noted, is a most happy adaptation of *Od.* 1, 16, 1. The scene of a dark English winter sketched in the next lines is in the spirit of similar scenes in Horace's odes of invitation, scenes of winter in 1, 11, of spring in 1, 5 and 4, 12, of summer in 1, 18 and 3, 29. The phrases "the fields are dank" and "waste a sullen day" are perhaps not without thought of "hispidos in agros"<sup>1</sup> and "cum quo morantem saepe diem fregi,"<sup>2</sup> but Milton's description is as independently faithful to England as are Horace's to Italy. There follows a prophecy of a better season to come in Horace's manner,<sup>3</sup> with a conscious imitation in line 6 of

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni.<sup>4</sup>

But the beautiful reference in line 8 to Christ's words conveys it would be hard to say what added sense of Christian joy in the spring. This

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 2, 9, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 2, 7, 6. Noted by Pattison, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 2, 9; 4, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 1, 4, 1. Noted by Pattison, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

line in the tender spirit of the *Ode on Christ's Nativity* alters the tone of the poem and, as has been already noted, shows how completely Milton had adapted Horace's poetic manner to his own thought.

The sestet illustrates the fact again. In lines recalling the gorgeous description of music in the tractate *On Education*,<sup>1</sup> Milton follows Horace<sup>2</sup> in telling how his simple fare and wine shall be followed by playing and singing. As in Horace, an ideal of refined pleasure is implicit in the lines, and in the concluding aphorism Milton goes on to tell overtly how such pleasures should be enjoyed. Both the use of such an aphorism and the sentiment of moderation are conspicuous in the Odes. Yet there is a difference. Horace urges moderation against wild and intemperate drinking, as against all intemperate acts or desires.<sup>3</sup> Milton's moderation is more austere, expressing the puritan ideal that even the best of pleasures should rarely be indulged in.<sup>4</sup>

In this sonnet, then, the address, the scene of nature, the prophecy of change, the description of refined and cultivated pleasures, the aphorism of the close, all spring from a mind which had deeply felt the spirit of Horace's verse. It would perhaps be fair to call the sonnet the most Horatian poem in English; so nicely does it mingle in a little space the perfection of feeling and phrase and the quiet didacticism of tone which together are the essence of the lighter odes. Had it not at the same time, as I have tried to show, departed from Horace in expressing Milton's own mind, it would have lacked the force to recreate the original. As it is, as an adaptation of Horace it is richer in purpose than Herrick's lyrics, vastly clearer and more perfect in phrase than Jonson's *Ode on the Friendship of Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison*, and perhaps more transparently felicitous than Marvell's *Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland*. Marvell is, to be sure, Milton's nearest rival in this respect. In view of the two men's friendship and of the fact that Marvell followed Milton as Latin Secretary, the former's *Horatian Ode* should be considered an added proof of Milton's imitation of Horace, not in this and the following sonnets only but in the

<sup>1</sup> Bohn, III, pp. 475-476.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* I, 17, 17-22; 4, 11, 34-36.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* I, 18 and 27; 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *P. L.* 11, 528 "The rule of *Not too much* by temperance taught."



foregoing. Marvell merely followed in his ode the practice which Milton had already begun in the sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Vane.

I have dwelt at length on the 20th sonnet because the 21st, although no less Horatian in purpose, seems perhaps less perfect both as a poem and as an adaptation. The difference is not easy to state. The sonnet lacks the former's precision of imagery and its serene lightness. In spirit, it is therefore less truly a poem of invitation. Moreover, the sustained and magnificent sestet, although personal in content, is extremely formal in tone. It gives the poem a dignity which is less in keeping with the private manner of the 20th sonnet than with the public manner of the 16th and 17th.

Cyriack, whose grandsire on the Royal Bench  
Of British Themis, with no mean applause,  
Pronounced, and in his volumes taught our laws  
Which others at their bar so often wrench;  
Today deep thoughts resolve with me to drench  
In mirth that after no repenting draws;  
Let Euclid rest and Archimedes pause,  
And what the Swede intends, and what the French.  
To measure life learn thou betimes, and know  
Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;  
For other things mild Heaven a time ordains,  
And disapproves that care, though wise in show,  
That with superfluous burdens loads the day,  
And, when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

The first four lines, reminiscent of the sonnet to Lady Margaret Ley, follow the Horatian practice, discussed in the case of that sonnet, of precisely describing a man's honors. The moral tenor of such a description here appears clearly in the fourth line. Horace also speaks of upright men as defenders of the law.<sup>1</sup> The invitation of the next four lines is exactly copied from Horace. Milton bids his friend lay aside both his studies and his concern for foreign politics, as Horace says to Maecenas,<sup>2</sup>

Mitte civilis super urbe curas,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 2, 1, 13; 4, 9, 37-45.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 3, 8, 17. Very similar is 3, 29, 25-28.



and then goes on to enumerate Rome's foreign enemies, or tells Quinctius Hirpinus,<sup>1</sup>

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,  
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria  
divisus obiecto, remittas  
quaerere.

The word "drench" of line 5 could hardly have been written without thought of "Socraticis madet sermonibus"<sup>2</sup> or "tingue poculis."<sup>3</sup>

After these lines of invitation Milton suddenly mounts to the general advice of the sestet. This swift change from the specific to the general is at once a most subtle and brilliant rendering of Horace's manner. So in *Od.* 1, 4, after a description of spring, he suddenly says,

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas  
regumque turris. O beate Sesti,  
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam,

or in 1, 7, after praising Tibur beyond the famous cities of Greece, quickly passes to the more general thought of

Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo  
saepe Notus neque parturit imbris  
perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento  
tristitiam vitaeque labores  
molli, Plance, mero.

And one could readily quote many more such swift transitions, whereby Horace in Pindar's oracular style introduces those general precepts which are at the heart of his poetry. As in the previous sonnet, Milton's thought is here his own, and however much his counsel to enjoyment owes in form and general spirit to Horace, it is nevertheless the counsel of a Puritan, not of an Epicurean. Yet the clear rationality of the lines, unmarred by figures, is most classical and Horatian, as is the specific use of "refrains" in the transitive sense of "checks."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 2, 11, 1-4. Noted by Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 3, 21, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 4, 12, 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "refrenare licentiam," *Od.* 3, 24, 29.

## VI

In the foregoing sonnets we have seen Milton addressing his contemporaries on both public and private themes in the manner of an ancient poet and with a style deeply influenced by Horace. He wrote in this way, it was argued, because he had drawn his ideals as a poet from those social, religious, and didactic conceptions of poetry common to the ancient world. Granted these, it was almost inevitable that he should follow Horace in such short poems as he wrote during the years of his self-imposed public service. He had hoped to write a national epic. When he abandoned this hope, he brought to the sonnets not only that sense of the public function of poetry but those more imponderable qualities of classic style and phrase which would have animated the unwritten epic as they did *Paradise Lost* or *Samson Agonistes*, perhaps the more so because disappointment and suffering had not then caused him to evolve his most mature and characteristic style.

Yet great as was the authority which the classical literatures exerted in his mind, it was equaled by that of the Bible. He made his first translations from the Psalms in 1648, the year of the sonnet to Fairfax, and the second in 1653, the year following those to Cromwell and Vane. It was natural, therefore, that he should write religious, as well as political and social, sonnets, and this being so, that he should be not a little influenced by the great Italian tradition of religious poetry. Thus, the 9th sonnet "Lady that in the prime of earliest youth," the 14th *On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomason*, and the 23rd "Methought I saw my late espoused saint" are reminiscent of many Italian sonnets addressed to women and couched in religious language. Parallels to the last two have been cited from Domenico Mantova and Berardino Rota.<sup>1</sup> Yet an examination of these poems of Milton both in themselves and in comparison with their Italian parallels shows very clearly that trait of style whereby his sonnets do not merely differ from the Italian but in large measure acquire the qualities of diction and authority which I have constantly dwelt upon. That is his familiar practice — a practice inherited from the greatest Christian humanists, especially Dante — of taking images and phrases

<sup>1</sup> Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 125.

equally from the Bible and from the Classics.<sup>1</sup> In the 14th sonnet, for instance, he uses Hesiod's image of the Hill of Virtue,<sup>2</sup> repeated also in ancient times by Simonides,<sup>3</sup> Plato,<sup>4</sup> and Horace.<sup>5</sup> In the 23rd he begins with the simile of Alcestis and closes with the lines

But Oh! as to embrace me she inclined,  
I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night,

the thought of which is borrowed from Homer by Virgil and from Virgil by Dante.<sup>6</sup> And the Biblical figures in all three sonnets are not less important or striking.<sup>7</sup>

The importance of this fact cannot, in my opinion, be overstated. Milton's practice of turning constantly in thought to Biblical or classic

<sup>1</sup> One may compare his similar practice in his prose. In the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, for instance, he constantly seeks his authority both in the Bible and the classical literatures, at times interpreting one by the help of the other. Thus in Chapter II, besides the Bible, Josephus, and the Church Fathers, he quotes Homer, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, Sallust, and Cicero, and cites examples from Roman history. The following sentence is a fair example of his method (Mitford, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 33): "Marcum Tullium saltem consuluisse; is te et Sallustium et Samuelem etiam interpretari docuisset."

<sup>2</sup> *Works and Days* 287-292. Noted by Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Diehl, *op. cit.*, Simonides, fg. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Republic* 2, 364c; *Laws* 3, 718e.

<sup>5</sup> "virtutisque viam . . . arduae." *Od.* 3, 24, 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Odyssey* 11, 204-209:

"ὦς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γ' ἔθελον φρεσὶ μερμηρίζας  
μητρὸς ἐμῆς ψυχὴν ἐλέειν κατατεθνηύλης.  
τρίς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,  
τρίς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὀνείρω  
ἔπτατ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος δὲ γένεσκετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον.

*Aeneid* 6, 700-702:

Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;  
Ter frustra compresa manus effugit imago,  
Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

*Purgatorio* 2, 80-81:

Tre volte retro a lei le mani avvinsi,  
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.

<sup>7</sup> These are noted in Smart's and Pattison's editions. None of the allusions, whether Biblical or classical, are found in the Italian parallels cited by Smart. In the youthful 4th sonnet, modeled on Petrarch, Milton likewise adds classical references not contained in the original (see above, p. 34).

models is the unifying strain which joins together all the sonnets. If he followed Horace in his political or social sonnets, it was not less natural that he should turn directly to the Bible in sonnets of a religious cast. In both cases he began with an Italian tradition but in both cases forsook it to follow the spirit and even the letter of ancient writings. He illuminated the present by the traditional wisdom of the remote past and by so doing expressed his deeply-implanted sense both of the nature of poetry and of his own function as a poet. The 19th and the 22nd sonnets on his blindness state clearly this sense of mission, and although it is true that these poems concern the whole of his life as a Christian, not merely a part of it as a poet, yet taken with the sonnets alone they are the key to the rest. For they express the fundamental idea of duty which in turn, by making him aspire to the position of teacher and guide through poetry of his people, gave rise to the classical and Biblical manner of the other sonnets. And the 18th sonnet, *On the Late Massacre in Piemont*, that with the fewest echoes of any ancient source, nevertheless by its lofty tone of public protest as well as by its opening from *Revelation* and its conclusion from Petrarch's fierce invective against the Papal Court<sup>1</sup> is in the spirit of the others.

Put therefore on the broadest grounds, Milton's imitations of Horace followed from the same social and didactic conceptions of poetry as inspired the religious sonnets, the sonnets on his own life, and that on the Piedmontese. The change thus wrought not only from the Petrarchan sonnets of his own youth but from those of the English Renaissance generally was enormous. It would be fair to say that *Paradise Lost* differs no more widely in its formal classicism from such a poem as the *Faerie Queene* than do the sonnets from those of Shakespeare or Sidney.

It remains only to speak of the two sonnets hitherto neglected, the 11th and the 12th, written after the unfavorable reception of Milton's tracts on divorce. It has been justly said of the latter that it shows the influence of the Latin epigram,<sup>2</sup> but the former is not less Roman in its tone of public criticism. Both poems show once again with what perspective Milton approached the sonnet and with what virtuosity he reshaped it to a more classical form. In the *Ode to Rouse*, written early

<sup>1</sup> Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> By Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 71.



in 1646 a few months after these sonnets, Milton interposed among the lines of stately compliment a strophe on the public evils of the day.<sup>1</sup> In quite another spirit but with the same method, he passes in the 11th sonnet from telling of the disapproval which met his divorce tracts to a stern pronouncement on the requisites for liberty. In both cases he raises the immediate matter in hand to the highest grounds of general concern. This is, as I have pointed out before, Horace's method. In *Serm.* 1, 10, for instance, he replies to the anger which his criticism of Lucilius had provoked by defining his own literary standards, or in *Od.* 2, 1 he passes from his dedication to Pollio to a lament for the sin of civil war. The distinction between licence and liberty drawn by Milton in this sonnet is, to be sure, taken from Plato and Cicero.<sup>2</sup> But the ideas of the folly of the crowd,<sup>3</sup> the necessity of goodness before freedom,<sup>4</sup> and the waste of civil war<sup>5</sup> are all familiar ones in Horace. The sonnet, in short, shows how instinctively Milton recreates for his own times the attitude and thought of the ancients.

The 12th sonnet, although no more Roman in thought than the former, yet follows a Latin form of speech more closely. In the first lines describing the reception of the *Tetrachordon*, Milton, like Horace,<sup>6</sup> Ovid,<sup>7</sup> and Martial,<sup>8</sup> speaks of his book as a living thing. "It walked

<sup>1</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> In discussing the various forms of government and describing how and why they are set up, Plato speaks thus of the introduction of democracy (*Republic* 8, 560e): *Τούτων δέ γέ που κενώσαντες καὶ καθήραντες τὴν τοῦ κατεχομένου τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τελουμένου ψυχὴν μεγάλοισι τέλεσι, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ὕβριν καὶ ἀναρχίαν καὶ ἀσωτίαν καὶ ἀναίδειαν λαμπρὰς μετὰ πολλοῦ χοροῦ κατὰγουσιν ἐστεφανωμένας, ἐγκωμιάζοντες καὶ ὑποκοριζόμενοι, ὕβριν μὲν εὐπαιδευσίαν καλοῦντες, ἀναρχίαν δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, ἀσωτίαν δὲ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ἀναίδειαν δὲ ἀνδρείαν.* The phrase *καλοῦντες*, . . . *ἀναρχίαν δὲ ἐλευθερίαν*, inspires Milton's line in this sonnet,

Licence they mean when they cry liberty,

as well as the similar sentiments of Cicero (*De Domo sua* 51; *De Legibus* 2, 17) and Livy (3, 37; 34, 2) cited by Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 3, 3, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Serm.* 2, 7, 83-88.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 2, 1, 29-36.

<sup>6</sup> *Epist.* 1, 20. Horace by innuendo likened his book to a prostitute. May one dare to suggest that Milton felt and echoed Horace's meaning?

<sup>7</sup> *Tristia* 1, 1. *Ex Ponto* 1, 4 and 5.

<sup>8</sup> 3, 2; 10, 104; 11, 1.



the town a while." The ancients commonly added local and contemporary details in addressing their books. Horace, for instance, refers to a firm of Roman book-sellers when he describes his volume as "Sosiorum pumice mundus,"<sup>1</sup> and according to the same convention Martial bids his book<sup>2</sup>

vicini pete porticum Quirini.

It is in this spirit that Milton humorously describes the stall-readers standing in a file amazed at the title of his book and one of them walking to Mile End Green, trying to spell it out. Just so Jonson<sup>3</sup> had rendered Catullus's well known lines,<sup>4</sup>

Quam magnus numerus Libyssae arenae  
laserpiciferis iacet Cyrenis,  
oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi  
et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum,  
aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,  
furtivos hominum vident amores,

by

All the grass that Rumney yields,  
Or the sands in Chelsea fields,  
Or the drops of silver Thames,  
Or the stars that gild his streams  
In the silent summer nights,  
When youths ply their stolen delights.

Nothing could more truly recapture the spirit of Latin verse than such a substitution of modern for ancient details. And when Milton continues,

Why is it harder, sirs, than Gordon,  
Colkitto, or Macdonnell, or Galasp?

he is equally detailed. As in complimentary sonnets he describes accurately the grounds of a man's eminence, so here he follows the blunt manner of the ancient epigram and satire, wherein poets mocked their contemporaries openly by name or covertly by pseudonym. In his odd

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* I, 20, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *II*, I, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ben Jonson [Poems], *The Forest*, VI, *An imitation of Catullus*, VII. My attention was called to this passage by Mr. Harry Levin.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 3-8.

and amusing rhymes he has a weapon which even they did not possess. But his concluding appeal to the authority of Quintilian and the example of Sir John Cheek, as well as the acrid litotes of the next-to-the-last line,<sup>1</sup> are tricks of mockery which Horace, Catullus, or Martial would have recognized. It was not a small feat to have used the classic forms of ridicule as effectively as those of praise and exhortation. That could have been done only by a man as versed in the past and as absorbed in the present as Milton.

<sup>1</sup> "Hated not learning worse than toad or asp." One may compare Horace's less brilliant line (*Epist.* 1, 17, 30-31): *alter Miletī textam cane peius et angue / vitabit chlamydem.*



## NERO AND THE EAST

BY EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD

IN RECENT discussions of the oriental policies of the Roman Empire in the reign of Nero an important question has been the capacity of Nero himself to formulate consistent and far-reaching plans.<sup>1</sup> The Roman historians did their best, as a rule, to imply that both his ability and his interest in this regard were decidedly limited. In view of his general reputation, the burden of proof would seem to lie with those who credit him with any degree of statecraft. Yet final decisions rested with the emperor, and the motives which may have influenced his concurrence in plans proposed by Seneca, Burrus, Corbulo and others are worth searching out.<sup>2</sup> The present paper undertakes to indicate the

<sup>1</sup> This discussion has centred about W. Schur's thesis of a unified eastern policy, stated in "Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero," *Klio*, Beiheft XV (1923), referred to hereafter as Schur, *Orientpolitik*, and the same author's "Die orientalische Frage im römischen Reiche," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, II (1926), pp. 270-282. Schur's theories have been criticized in numerous reviews, which he answered in *Klio*, XX (1925), pp. 215-222. A. Momigliano, "Corbulone e la Politica verso i Parthi," *Atti del IIo Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, I (Rome, 1931), pp. 368-375, and M. Hammond, "Corbulo and Nero's Eastern Policy," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLV (1934), pp. 81-104, referred to as Hammond, diverge sharply from Schur's theories. None of these studies discusses the theme of this paper in any detail, and only Schur undertakes to treat the Ethiopian and Caspian expeditions as significant indications of Nero's policy. He claims that Nero acted in these plans as the heir of Alexander, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and Caesar; his critics in general deny that Nero had any constructive foreign policy of his own. I hope to show that the influence of Alexander on the eastern projects was less that of the Macedonian general than that of the hero of the Hellenistic-oriental legend. That Nero should have made plans based on the legendary Alexander does not imply faith in Nero's statecraft, but in his susceptibility to ideas that consorted well with his customary megalomania. It does imply his direct interest in the Ethiopian and Caspian campaigns, but is not inconsistent with the theory that men more skilled in frontier problems originated or furthered them.

<sup>2</sup> H. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1 (Berlin, 1926), p. 274, note 2, referred to hereafter as Dessau, goes too far when he suggests that it is lost labor to try to investigate Nero's purpose.

extent to which oriental ideas known to have been current throughout the Empire and at Rome may have affected Nero's view of his rôle. Such a study rests largely on hypothesis. It can, however, form a needed synthesis between the aspects of Nero's reign chiefly studied by historians and those that have primarily interested students of oriental prophetic literature, including the Hellenistic development of the Alexander legend. Its significance is most marked in connection with Nero's projected campaigns to Ethiopia and the Caspian Gates, with his plans when his rule in Rome was ending, and with the widespread belief in *Nero redivivus*.

The increasing hostility of leading Romans of the first century to oriental and, particularly, to Jewish ideas and ways of life is familiar to all students of the times.<sup>1</sup> This enmity is, however, in itself one indication of the extent to which such ideas influenced contemporary thought. Anti-oriental feeling among the senators and their friends was no deterrent to interest in eastern ideas on Nero's part. On the contrary, he was fond of proclaiming his independence of the senate and was confident of his ability to govern the provinces and army with the *equites* and freedmen alone.<sup>2</sup> He was, moreover, exceedingly eager to curry favor with the mob, and his hope of winning eternal fame through their favor was realized to a surprising extent by their offerings at his grave, when the first frenzy aroused by his fall had once subsided, and by the persistent belief in his second coming.<sup>3</sup> Oriental religious and political ideas were native to many inhabitants of Rome, including prominent imperial freedmen, and may have been a welcome antidote both to the republican tradition and to the Stoic ideals of the senate.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast, for example, Juvenal's bitter antagonism to the Jews with Horace's contemptuous tolerance, and note Seneca's exaggerated fears of the increasing influence of the *sceleratissima gens*, as quoted by Augustine, *de Civ. Dei* 6, 11. See also M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (Philadelphia, 1915), ch. 19, referred to hereafter as Radin, and J. Hild, "Les Juifs devant l'Opinion Romaine," *Revue des Études Juives*, XI (1885), pp. 18-59; 161-194.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Nero* 37.

<sup>3</sup> Suet., *Nero* 53: *maxime autem popularitate efferebatur, omnium aemulus, qui quoquo modo animum vulgi mouerent; ibid.* 55: *erat illi aeternitatis perpetuaeque famae cupido, sed inconsulta.* Cf. c. 57 for the honoring of Nero's memory by the people, and their hope of his return. This passage is quoted and discussed later in the present paper.



The inauguration of a new ruler afforded an occasion on which the poets' panegyric and popular enthusiasm coincided. Virgil's fourth eclogue had established the type, and Nero was hailed as the initiator of an age of peace, and as Apollo incarnate to bring prosperity to the world.<sup>1</sup> The oriental idea of a golden age ushered in by a ruler who should be at once the conqueror and savior of mankind, the ruler of the world and the prince of peace, had been established at Rome by the writers of the late republican and the Augustan periods and was a significant aspect of the composite character of the *princeps*.<sup>2</sup> Various time-hallowed calculations had awakened vivid expectations of the approaching end of the current world-period and the beginning of a new age; these hopes had neither been fulfilled nor cast aside, but remained as a potent force in popular thought.<sup>3</sup> The imminent ending of the *saeculum* and the coming of a Messiah were more than conventional poetic ideas to many who witnessed the golden auspices under which Nero's reign began.

The last two centuries had brought numerous men and women of eastern origin to Rome, whether as slaves, that is, potential freedmen and founders of citizen families, or as voluntary immigrants for industrial and commercial activity. The average number of Jews alone in Trastevere in the early Empire is reckoned as 50,000, no contemptible number.<sup>4</sup> Though the Jews were more likely to be petty craftsmen and shopkeepers than great merchants, their ideas aroused a considerable

<sup>1</sup> Seneca, *Apocol.* 4, 1; *Einsiedeln Eclogues*, ed. Riese, *Anthologia latina*, I, ii, nos. 725, 726, especially the second eclogue with its direct use of phrases from Virgil, *Ecl.* 4; Calpurnius, *Ecl.* 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. W. Tarn, "Alexander Helios and the Golden Age," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXII (1932), pp. 135-160, referred to hereafter as Tarn; E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig, 1924), referred to as Norden, *Geburt des Kindes*; Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland* (Bonn, 1909); Fr. Kampers, "Die Geburtskunde des abendländischen Kaiseridee," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVI (1925), pp. 233-270; A. Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher des vierten Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes* LXV (1930), pp. 369-384.

<sup>3</sup> Seeliger, *s.v. Weltalter*, in Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, VI, cols. 417-425; K. Kerényi, "Das persische Millennium im Mahābhārata, bei der Sibylle und Vergil," *Klio*, XXX (1936), pp. 1-35.

<sup>4</sup> G. La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," *Harvard Theological Review*, XX (1927), esp. pp. 345-347, referred to hereafter as La Piana.

degree of interest, and partial conversion to Judaism was not unknown.<sup>1</sup> The fondness of the imperial family for eastern soothsayers, Poppaea's Jewish sympathies, and the presence in the palace of oriental princelings, all had their significance. Radin suggests that the marked change in Josephus' estimate of Nero between the composition of the *Bellum Iudaicum* and that of the *Antiquitates* was due to the historian's better acquaintance in the latter with the general feeling of Roman Jewry toward Nero's memory.<sup>2</sup> The association of Nero with oriental prophecy is thus less strange than it might otherwise seem. Furthermore, Messianic hopes were cherished not only by the Jews, but by other eastern peoples, and particularly by Iranian residents in the Near East. The combination of Chaldean and Zoroastrian ideas in the teachings of the 'western Magi' had a widespread influence in the eastern provinces, and ultimately throughout the Empire, since it was from the western Mazdean colonies that Mithraism sprang.<sup>3</sup> In view of the close connection of the Jews of the diaspora with Jerusalem, and that of the Iranian groups in the Roman Empire with Parthian centres, these Messianic beliefs had considerable political significance.<sup>4</sup> We hear of one Roman governor of Syria who considered an understanding of Jewish religion a necessary part of his official training, and knowledge of Jewish history and customs was available for Roman historians from the time of Pompey's eastern campaigns.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> La Piana, pp. 372-393; Th. Reinach, *s.v. Judaei*, in Daremberg et Saglio, III, pp. 627-628.

<sup>2</sup> Radin, p. 296. For Poppaea's interest in the Jewish religion, see Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 8, 11; *Vita* 3.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Cumont, "La Fin du Monde selon les Mages Occidentaux," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CIII (1931), pp. 28-96. For a detailed study of the Magian share in the syncretism of the early Empire, see H. Windisch, "Die Orakel des Hystaspes," *Verhandlungen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, afd. Letterkunde, N.S. XXVIII*, 3 (1928), esp. pp. 6-10, 25; cited hereafter as Windisch.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>5</sup> Philo, *Legatio* 16-34, esp. 32-33 for Petronius, governor of Syria, who had long studied Jewish philosophy, and religion, and 'even more since he had come as ruler of the districts in which there are great numbers of Jews living in every city of Asia and Syria.' The lost work *de Iudaeis* of Antonius Julianus may be another case in point; cf. Minucius Felix 53, 3-4, and E. Norden, "Josephus und Tacitus," *Neue Jahrbücher für die klassische Altertum*, XXXI (1913), pp. 664-665, referred to here-

Philo described as a chief source of anxiety about the violent anti-Semitism of Gaius the fear of its effect on the Jews who occupied Babylonia and other eastern satrapies, who annually sent great convoys of gold and silver to the temple.<sup>1</sup> Under the Flavians the same concern is indicated by the fact that Josephus originally issued his *Bellum Iudaicum* in Aramaic in order to induce a proper attitude toward Rome in his countrymen beyond the Euphrates.<sup>2</sup> The diaspora thus increased the danger inherent in any Jewish revolt, since national sentiment among the Jews in Parthia gave the Parthians opportunity for unofficial aid to the rebels without the necessity for open war with Rome. On the other hand, the number of Jews in Parthia, and their close contacts with the centres of Jewish thought in the Roman provinces, provided for the rapid dissemination of common ideas in both empires.<sup>3</sup> Thus the application to a Roman emperor, in this instance Nero, of the *uetus et constans opinio* that the destined world-ruler should come from Judea, was firmly established, as Suetonius said, through the whole East.<sup>4</sup>

The dramatic ceremonial by which Tiridates of Armenia gave up his Persian tiara and received a diadem at Nero's hands affords, according to Cumont's recent reconstruction, striking proof of Magian acceptance of Nero as the promised Messiah, the incarnation of Mithras.<sup>5</sup> According to Pliny, who was hostile both to Nero and to eastern rites, the emperor had been led to interest in the Magian mysteries by his

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after as Norden, *Josephus*; Th. Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 271-274, referred to as Birt. The interest in oriental history including that of the Jews, that had been aroused by the eastern campaigns of Pompey, was met by Castor of Rhodes. The use of his *Chronica* by Varro, Diodorus and others, made its synthesis of oriental and classical affairs an integral part of the Roman historians' equipment. Cf. Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*, II, i, 529.

<sup>1</sup> *Legatio* 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Bell. Iud.* I, 6. Cf. Dio 65, 4, 3 for the help given to the defenders of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. by other Jews not only from Roman provinces, but from beyond the Euphrates.

<sup>3</sup> Radin, pp. 266-267, holds that there was always a strong Parthian party in Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> *Vesp.* 4, 5: *percrebuerat Oriente toto uetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur.*

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Cumont, "L'Iniziazione di Nerone da Parte di Tiridate d'Armenia," *Rivista di Filologia*, N. S. XI (1933), pp. 145-154.

ardent desire to control the gods themselves by magic arts. After his initiation at the sacred banquet by Tiridates, however, Nero gave up the Magian cult as the mere *umbræ ueritatis*.<sup>1</sup> As Cumont has shown, the initiation of Nero by Tiridates and the Mithraic character of the Magian King's coronation by the emperor had a significance for Roman and Parthian relations and for the attitude toward the emperor of worshippers of Mithras within the Empire that did not end with Nero's loss of interest in the cult. Nero's conviction of his own superhuman destiny could hardly fail to be increased by his recognition as Mithras, for whom the fates reserved the establishment of a divine empire in this world. During the subsequent peace with Parthia, the association of the Roman emperor with the Magian religion was not forgotten.

Not only were the oriental beliefs about the ending of the current *saeculum*, and about the coming of a superhuman world-ruler, prevalent among the Semitic and Iranian inhabitants of the Roman world and neighboring Parthia, but the Sibylline oracles formed a vehicle for their transmission to the Greeks and Romans. Oracles adopted as part of the official collection gained authority in the popular mind from the centuries during which the Sibylline books had been solemnly consulted in times of crisis. Fronto once said that no one would trust the advice of the wisest woman as he would the inspired prophecies of a sibyl.<sup>2</sup> When Juvenal denied any value to the dreams that the Jews would sell for a copper to suit any taste and conceded more value to the costlier predictions of the Chaldeans,<sup>3</sup> he was doubtless unconscious of the extent to which oriental prophecies figured under the Sibylline name. After the earlier collection was burned in the Sullan fire, the loss was supplied by oracles gathered from public and private collections all over the Greek and Roman world, including the cities of Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy. The sources emphasize especially the oracles of the Erythraean Sibyl, who was traditionally of Babylonian origin. Erythrae is named as the especial goal of the Sibylline commissioners in more than one account. The Persian Sibyl is named first in Varro's list

<sup>1</sup> *N.H.* 30, 1, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> *ad Marc.* 1, 3, 8 (Naber, p. 5; Loeb, ed. C. Haines, I, pp. 82-84). It is only fair to note that Fronto was not attacking the intelligence of women in general, but contrasting mere human wisdom with divine inspiration.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* 6, 543-550.



as quoted by Lactantius. Thus the oriental character of parts of the Sibylline collection was clearly recognized.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish Sibylline oracles of the period were themselves syncretistic in character, and served as vehicles for incorporating in Jewish thought much imagery and phrasing from Greek mystic writings, as well as for familiarizing the Greeks with Jewish ideas.<sup>2</sup> Circulation of Sibylline and similar prophecies in private collections did away with the old secrecy of the oracular books, but gave them a hold on the popular mind not to be supplanted for many years by the *sortes Vergilianae*. From these oracles the Romans became increasingly familiar with the oriental view of history, which embraced the world in one great plan and prophesied one destiny for it through the work of the heaven-sent king who should end wars on earth and bring about an eternal world-empire with the temple as its centre.<sup>3</sup> Unofficial oracles, many of them doubtless from the spurious volumes that Augustus had ordered destroyed,<sup>4</sup> were widely circulated with all the apparent authority of the canonical texts. A striking instance is the popular excitement aroused on two occasions by an oracle which foretold the ruin of Rome by civil war after nine *saecula* should have passed. This oracle was publicly denounced as spurious by Tiberius when it was applied to the death of Germanicus, and again by Nero at the time of the fire.<sup>5</sup>

In the extant collection of the Sibylline prophecies, which was compiled for the use of early Christian writers, the third oracle is composed

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 6, 12; Dionysius Hal., *Antiquitates* 4, 62, 6; Lactantius, *Inst.* 1, 6, 8-13.

<sup>2</sup> This brief discussion of the oracles is intended only as a reminder of specific points important to the argument. It is based primarily on A. Rzach's articles, *Sibyllen, Sibyllinische Orakel*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reihe* II, IV, cols. 2074-2183; on the same author's *Oracula Sibyllina* (Prag, 1891); Lanchester's translation and notes in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha und Pseudepigrapha*, II (Oxford, 1913), pp. 369-406; and on J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902), whose text is used for citations in the remainder of this paper. See also Tarn, pp. 135-143, and for the syncretistic character of the Sibylline writings, E. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven, 1935), pp. 282-287, where special emphasis is laid on their Orphic borrowings. Cf. Norden, *Josephus*, p. 661.

<sup>3</sup> See Fr. Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage* (Munich, 1896), referred to as Kampers, *Kaiseridee*, and the text of *Sib.* 5.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 31, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dio 57, 18; 62, 18.



of various compositions of different dates, parts of which antedate Nero's reign by several generations and illustrate the type of prophecy current in the late republic and early empire. One of these gives clearly the essentially eastern picture of the world-rule of a holy prince at the end of time, whose reign is to be followed by discord and fiery destruction:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσει  
 εἰσέτι δηθύνουσα,\* τότε δὴ\* βασιλεία μεγίστη  
 ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανέεται.  
 ἥξει δ' ἄγνός ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων  
 εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας ἐπειγομένοιο χρόνιοι.  
 καὶ τότε Λατίνων ἀπαραίτητος χόλος ἀνδρῶν  
 τρεῖς Ῥώμην οἰκτρῇ μοίρῃ καταδηλήσονται.  
 πάντες δ' ἄνθρωποι μελάθροισι ἰδίοισιν ὀλοῦνται,  
 ὅπποταν οὐρανόθεν πύρινος ῥεύσῃ καταράκτης.<sup>1</sup>

Another detached passage in the third oracle, which Tarn identifies as a Jewish prophecy of the latter part of Cleopatra's reign, describes the triumph of Asia over Rome in the last days:

ὅπποσα δασμοφόρου Ἀσίης ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμῃ,  
 χρήματά κεν τρεῖς τόσσα δεδέξεται ἔμπαλιν Ἀσίς  
 ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὅλοῃν δ' ἀποτίσεται ὕβριν ἐς αὐτήν.  
 ὅσσοι δ' ἐξ Ἀσίης Ἰταλῶν δόμον ἀμφεπόλευσαν,  
 εἰκοσάκις τοσσοῦτοι ἐν Ἀσίδι θητεύσουσιν  
 Ἰταλοὶ ἐν πενίῃ, ἀνὰ μυρία δ' ὀφλήσουσιν.<sup>2</sup>

The ideas and phrasing of this prophecy are imitated in later oracles, including those of the Flavian period which could add *ex post facto* forecasts of Nero's flight and reappearance, prophecies which will be

<sup>1</sup> *Sib.* 3, 46-54. Cf. Tarn, pp. 141-142; Norden, *Geburt des Kindes*, pp. 146-147. The significant characteristic is the association of the Roman power with the Danielic idea of the world monarchies, as the final empire of the world, and its setting in universal history of the oriental type. The ease with which one living in the Flavian period could apply the world-rule of the holy prince to the last of the Julio-Claudian line is obvious, if one can for a moment forget Nero the monster and remember his popularity in the East.

<sup>2</sup> *Sib.* 3, 350-355. Cf. Tarn, pp. 135 ff., and the oracle of Hystaspes, as quoted by Lactantius, *Inst.* 7, 15, and discussed by Windisch, esp. p. 69.

discussed later in this paper. An important point is the promise of retribution for Rome in the time of her ruin, when Asia shall receive again many times the amount of her losses to Roman oppressors, and triumph over her conqueror. Whether there is any direct connection between this oracle and the one circulated in the time of Nero and Vespasian or not, the two come from the same milieu and look forward to the world-rule of a prince and the return of sovereignty to Asia. The application of the prophecy to Nero is one reason why he figures so largely in the later oracles.

Suetonius and Dio give different versions of a story used to support the charge that Nero set fire to the city of Rome. The theory of the ending of the current *saeculum* by a great fire was widely voiced, not only in the Sibylline oracles, as in the case quoted above, but in oriental eschatology in general, as well as in Stoic theory. In the second century this idea was so closely associated with Jewish and Christian teachings that Minucius Felix made Caecilius refer to it as an 'insane idea' of the Christians, contrary to the laws of nature.<sup>1</sup> Both versions of the anecdote about Nero suggest that he had in mind the picture of a world conflagration in the reign of the last great ruler of mankind, rather than the burning of part of a single city. According to Suetonius, Nero capped the quotation,

ἐμοῦ θανόντος, γαῖα μειχθήτω πυρί,

with the answer, *Immo, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος*.<sup>2</sup> Dio more explicitly charges Nero with the long-cherished wish to make an end of the city and the Empire during his life-time, and notes his envy of Priam for his su-

<sup>1</sup> *Oct.* 11. The conception of the destruction of the world by fire is of course far too widespread to be attributed to a single source, unless it be primitive man's fear of a primordial conflagration. A contemporary parallel with more restricted application is the Druid prophecy (*Tac., Hist.* 4, 54) that the burning of the Capitol portended the transfer of imperial power from Rome to the transalpine tribes. Cf. Zielinski, "La Sibylle et la Fin de Rome," *Musée Belge*, XXVII (1923), p. 224, for the coincidence of Sibylline prophecies of world-ruin with the burning of the Capitol under Sulla. On the 'triumphal orientalism' of Nero, see C. Barbagallo, "L'Oriente e l'Occidente nel Mondo Romano," *Nuova Rivista Storica*, VI (1922), pp. 156-157; this discussion is, however, chiefly concerned with Nero's style of living and the *ludi Neroniani*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nero* 38.

premely tragic survival of his country.<sup>1</sup> The epic tradition contributed more than once to the assimilation in classical thought of eastern ideas. Suetonius' version suggests no more than the Greek background of the verse quoted, but Dio's phrasing recalls the belief that the world-rule of Rome was to end in universal fire. Whether or not Nero was ready to identify the actual with the ideal fire, the populace were prepared to do so. They associated the burning of Rome with the approaching end of the Roman power, to Nero's discredit, and quoted an oracle to that effect:

τρίς δὲ τριακοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν  
 ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ στάσις. *when there 300 years  
 passed  
 Rome by her people's  
 civil war.*

When Nero branded it as spurious, they found another:

ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητρόκτονος ἡγεμονεύσει.<sup>2</sup> *Last of the Aeneids  
 a mother-slayer shall rule*

Though Dio's account may have been colored by later oracles, the tale as it stands suggests the association of the Neronian fire with prevalent oriental ideas that were to play a prominent part in the Christian views of the fall of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The astrologers, as Suetonius tells us, had predicted to Nero that he was destined to lose his throne, but they had also foretold that his fall would be the prelude to recovery of power:

praedictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat fore ut quandoque destitueretur . . . sponponderant tamen quidam destituto orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem.<sup>4</sup>

They predicted Nero's fall some time before it occurred; their prophecies of subsequent events varied, but Suetonius gives the more promi-

<sup>1</sup> 62, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Dio 62, 18. Cf. Windisch, p. 69: 'Was die gesamte Orient wünschte, fürchtete man auch in Rom.'

<sup>3</sup> The association of the end of the Roman Empire with that of the world became a cardinal Christian belief; cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 32 and elsewhere; Lactantius, *Inst.* 7, 25, quoting Sibylline verses; and Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam* 10, 34, 8 ff., based on the work of Hebrew scholars. See W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1895), p. 81, referred to hereafter as Bousset.

<sup>4</sup> Nero 40.

ment place to those who foretold the rule of the East, and in particular of Jerusalem. This was not a single prophecy, but one often repeated; it must have been widely known in Rome, and associated in men's minds with the oracle that made Nero the last of his line to rule. If Nero was to recover his *fortuna* through the rule of Jerusalem, and thence of the East, there was no obstacle to applying to him that prophecy 'contained in the ancient books of the priests,'<sup>1</sup> the *uetus et constans opinio*<sup>2</sup> that a ruler from Judea should restore the power of the East and govern the world. That the astrologers were mistaken in their choice of a world-conquering hero did not invalidate the prophecy, which after Nero's fall was accepted by the Romans and their supporters in the East as fulfilled in Vespasian's accession. Whether the Jews in general had applied it to Nero we cannot determine; that some did so seems implied in Suetonius' account.<sup>3</sup> The prophecy is very close to parts of the third Sibylline oracle in which the world-ruler was to establish a power that centred about the temple, and it was clearly to the advantage of the Jews, after Gaius' harsh treatment, to have an emperor already friendly to them believe that his future glory would emanate from their capital. But the belief that a truly Jewish ruler was destined to control the world soon found more active support in Judea, and led, so Suetonius, Tacitus, and Josephus tell us, to the Jewish rebellion.<sup>4</sup> Josephus' acceptance of the application of the prophecy to Rome was consistent both with his position after his capture and with his conciliatory policy before the revolt. The disastrous failure of

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 13; *pluribus persuasio inerat sacerdotum litteris contineri*. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5; cf. note 8 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Radin, pp. 297-298, and on p. 294 his stress on the significance of Nero's position as last of the line of the Caesars, who had some measure of divine sanction in Jewish eyes.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 13; Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5; Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 6, 312. For the influence of the prophecy on the Jewish rebellion see R. Lattimore, "Portents and Prophecies in Connection with the Emperor Vespasian," *Classical Journal*, XXIX (1934), p. 445. On the source of the passages in Josephus and Tacitus see Norden, *Josephus*, pp. 637-666. Athenaeus 5, 213 b supplies a parallel oracle in the case of Mithridates, whom the Asiatic cities worshipped as god-king, while oracles from all quarters predicted his sway over the civilized world. There seems to be a reference to this in *Sib.* 3, 350-355, and the spectacular war of the Pontic ruler against Rome was a natural magnet for contemporary oracles.



the movement, and the sack of Jerusalem, made it impossible that any of Nero's successors should be accepted by nationalist Jews as their promised ruler.

In the Hellenistic world, the prototype of the world-ruler was Alexander the Great. He had been virtually adopted by the Romans as a protecting and superhuman hero. The protagonists of the struggle for one-man power found in him an inspiring model, and his eastern conquests that still lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman power were foremost in the minds of imperialists who would fain see their sway extended *super Garamantas et Indos*.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that many a Roman emperor saw himself, and was seen by his contemporaries, as a second Alexander. Nero's imitation of Alexander has often been noted. I hope to show that he was influenced even more by the legendary Alexander of Hellenistic-oriental tradition than by the historical conqueror. This theory may throw added light on the increased sharpness of the customary Stoic criticism of Alexander as seen in the writings of Seneca and others who distrusted the great plans of eastern conquest that Nero was formulating in the latter part of his reign. Seneca, in letters probably written between 63 and 65 A.D., saw Alexander as an unhappy man driven by madness to destroy alien lands.<sup>2</sup> Imperialism was much discussed and attacked at the time, and Alexander appeared in Lucan's poem as

non utile mundo  
editus exemplum terras tot posse sub uno  
esse uiro.<sup>3</sup>

A man who was born  
to teach this bad lesson  
the world, that so many  
may obey one lord.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Bruehl, "Le Souvenir d'Alexandre le Grand et les Romains," *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, XLVIII (1930), pp. 202-221; A. Anderson, "Alexander at the Caspian Gates," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), p. 142, referred to hereafter as Anderson, *Alexander*; Weber, *Alexander der Grosse im Urteil der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1909); A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Römische Mitteilungen*, L (1935), pp. 152-154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 94, 62-63; cf. 91, 17; 119, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Lucan 10, 26-28, part of a long attack on Alexander. Criticism, generally unfavorable, of Alexander's character and achievements had long been a favorite Stoic theme, and was popular also with rhetoricians. See J. Stroux, "Die Stoische Beurteilung Alexanders des Grossen," *Philologus*, LXXXVIII (1933), pp. 222-240. But the attacks of Seneca and his circle were more than the continuation of a conventional theme, and helped to prepare the way for the bitter condemnation of Alexander by Orosius and other later writers.



Clearly, then, Nero's imitation of Alexander was not welcome to his former tutor, nor to the poet who took pains to insert flattering allusions to the emperor in his epic of the dying republic. Plans for settlement of the Parthian question might be seriously affected by a mania for eastern conquest, and there were already Romans who felt that peace with Parthia was the only wise policy.<sup>1</sup> Even the peace so magnificently celebrated in 66 might easily be endangered by too extensive operations in neutral lands.

But an emperor for whom soothsayers foretold a power springing from the East, and whose divinity was recognized by Magian priests, could not fail to be interested in the oriental view of Alexander as a divine conqueror and redeemer of the world.<sup>2</sup> Alexander's return to earth was confidently expected long after his death, and oracles continued to centre about him even in Arrian's day.<sup>3</sup> It was believed that Daniel's prophecy foretold Alexander's power, and Josephus' account of the king's meeting with the high priest in Jerusalem shows the importance of this connection.<sup>4</sup> The story, composed after the Book of Daniel had gained its reputation for high antiquity and authority, tells how the high priest read to Alexander Daniel's prophecy that a Greek should destroy the Persian power. This led Alexander to promise the Jews all that they asked, including favors for their kindred in Babylonia and Media, and many Jews joined his army. Thus he became the destined leader of the fourth and last of the world's monarchies, through an incident parallel to that of the visit to Ammon, but the prophecy used in this story is actually that of a later oracle, akin to those previously discussed.<sup>5</sup> It was, however, usual to support new prophetic writings by the authority of Daniel's vision, the source of so much of their imagery. Mediaeval apocalyptic literature, harking back

<sup>1</sup> Hammond, pp. 92 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Birt, pp. 265-282; Fr. Kampers, "Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage," *Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, I (Freiburg, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> *Anab.* 7, 30, 2; cf. Dio 80, 18 for the amazing tale of the daemon that appeared in the time of Elagabalus and claimed to be Alexander.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Jud.* 11, 329-339.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Norden, *Josephus*, p. 661. H. Bassfreund, *Alexander der Grosse und Josephus* (Diss. Giessen, 1920), attempts to disprove Norden's argument of a Sibylline influence in the tale in favor of a pre-Maccabean version of Daniel.

to the story, often makes the Macedonian and Roman empires identical, using the names interchangeably.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as Alexander was Heracles and Dionysus to the Greeks and Gilgamesh to the eastern peoples,<sup>2</sup> to the Jews he became the Messianic champion of the civilized world against the destructive forces of barbarians. Whereas the early history of the other details of the Alexander legend found in texts of the sixth century and later is difficult, if not impossible, to trace, the action by which Alexander established himself as protector of the civilized world from hostile forces outside already appears in Josephus. Alexander barred the Caspian Gates with iron against the Scythian Alans,<sup>3</sup> and for centuries to come Gog, Magog, and the 'enclosed nations' would rage in vain beyond the bars.

Thus a Roman emperor who was in his own person associated with oriental prophecies of universal power had double reason to use Alexander's real and legendary exploits as a guide toward attainment of similar greatness. The tradition that kings came from the farthest corners of the earth to do homage to Alexander may have been one cause of Nero's desire for the pageant of Tiridates' submission. Imitation of Alexander may be seen in the expedition to the Nile, which suited Seneca's taste better than Nero's other attempts to follow the Macedonian model. It appears most fully in the plans for the expeditions to Ethiopia and the Caspian Gates. If the legendary and not alone the historical Alexander provided the inspiration for these plans, several points in our scanty accounts of them become clearer. Such a rôle was not inconsistent with Nero's conviction of his talents and of his position as emperor. If men in the East, and those of the West who were most open to eastern influence, expected a world-hero and conqueror, Nero would be ready to fill the role with more enthusiasm than one would expect him to show for important but prosaic considerations of economic and political advantage. The latter may have been funda-

<sup>1</sup> For example, in the widely read *Sermo de nouissimis temporibus*, of the pseudo-Methodius. See E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), p. 32, referred to hereafter as Sackur.

<sup>2</sup> A. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate: Gog, Magog and the Enclosed Nations* (Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 3, hereafter referred to as Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*. See also Anderson, *Alexander*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Bell. Iud.* 7, 244-246. Note the mention of these gates in Pliny, *N.H.* 6, 30, to be discussed later in this paper.

mental for Nero's advisers, and Corbulo was certainly fully aware of the political problems of the eastern frontier, but even the slight references to the campaigns in our sources suggest that Nero's plans transcended ordinary political considerations.<sup>1</sup>

That the expeditions against Ethiopia and the Caspian Gates were conceived as part of a unified plan seems clear. Dio mentions the two together as undertakings which Nero had considered, but had given up as over-arduous, in the hope that the districts would submit of their own accord.<sup>2</sup> Troops had already been sent to Egypt when the catastrophe came in 68, and we learn of the recall of the soldiers, some for the war with Vindex, some under Galba.<sup>3</sup> Suetonius describes the raising of special troops for the Caspian expedition, fine six-footers, to be called the phalanx of Alexander the Great.<sup>4</sup> There seems, therefore, to be no ground for doubt that both campaigns were seriously planned. Mommsen explained them as important in the development of the southern and eastern frontier policy;<sup>5</sup> Schur as due primarily to commercial motives, coupled with political aims, which made Nero a worthy heir of Ptolemaic and Seleucid policies as well as of Alexander and Caesar.<sup>6</sup> This theory, dubious on economic and political grounds, has also met with serious criticism prompted by doubt of Nero's statecraft, and by the emperor's lack of personal interest in such matters.<sup>7</sup> But the most explicit point in the sources is precisely that of Nero's close connection with the expeditions. Dio's statement, mentioned above, associates the plans with Nero's anger against Vologaeses and his failure to declare war on him. Pliny speaks of the Ethiopian cam-

<sup>1</sup> See the references given in the following discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Dio 63, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 31; I, 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Nero* 19.

<sup>5</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*<sup>11</sup>, V (Berlin, 1933), p. 393.

<sup>6</sup> Schur, *Orientpolitik*, pp. 39-61.

<sup>7</sup> See the reviews of Schur by De Sanctis, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXII (1925), pp. 199-201; Ensslin, *Berliner Philologischen Wochenschrift*, XLIV (1924), cols. 549-554; Hohl, *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, XLVIII (1924), cols. 915-919; Leuze, *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, XXVII (1924), cols. 343-347. Ensslin agrees on the Hellenistic character of Nero's later years, generally accepted in studies of Nero's reign, but objects to seeing in him the heir of Alexander and Caesar in his foreign policy. See also Dessau's opinion, cited on p. 75, n. 2.

paign as Nero's own idea, *inter reliqua bella et Aethiopicum cogitanti*.<sup>1</sup> Suetonius and Tacitus both make the postponement of the Ethiopian campaign the result of an ominous personal incident.<sup>2</sup> Tacitus goes even further; for he describes Nero as *secretis imaginationibus agitans* the eastern trip, and has him give as ostensible reason for the postponement the absurd excuse that he was needed at Rome.

It would seem justifiable, therefore, to explain the plans on grounds consistent with Nero's own interest. His ambitions were closer to the Alexander of oriental legend than his achievements were likely to be to those of the historical Alexander. What were the reasons, aside from dubious commercial and political needs, for an expedition to Ethiopia? A Roman emperor who saw himself as a second Alexander would seek to extend the Roman power in the South and East; in the East the submission of Parthia would parallel Alexander's conquest of Persia, but in the South Egypt was already Roman, and the Ethiopian land was the next step. Augustus' troops had captured part of its towns, but the kingdom had since recovered sufficient strength to be a worthy opponent. Ethiopia was an object of real interest to the Romans, as Strabo's account indicates; discussions of Homer's perplexing description of its people were still rife; geographers regularly assigned the Ethiopians to the southern quarter of the earth, where they balanced the northern Scyths as chief of the peoples outside the Mediterranean *orbis*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the Indians were often confused with Ethiopians in Roman geography, a confusion that persists in the Sibylline texts and in the Alexander legend, and the recent development of the commercial routes across the Indian Ocean for Roman merchants may have tended to increase this confusion in the popular mind. The Celts, who formed the western quarter of the earth, already belonged to Rome; if Nero's expeditions added the northern Scythians by the Caspian Gates campaign, and the southern Ethiopians, and through these, the eastern Indians, he would be fully a world-ruler. The Homeric line

*Αἰθιοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,*<sup>4</sup>

itself implies that their annexation would complete southern expansion.

<sup>1</sup> *N.H.* 6, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Nero* 19; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 36.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 2, 22-35.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 1, 23.



In the year 60/61 a preliminary expedition was sent to Ethiopia, according to Pliny's account. The men reported on the character of the land as far as Meroe, on either side of which only *solitudines* were to be found.<sup>1</sup> Mentions of the profits to accrue from land annexed, and of the futility of campaigns where no gain is to be expected, are frequent enough in imperial writers to suggest that determining the profitable boundaries for proposed annexation was a major object of the exploratory expedition. According to Seneca, however, its purpose was primarily scientific. The men were sent to determine the source of the Nile because of Nero's great love of scientific truth, as of other virtues.<sup>2</sup> The lively curiosity of the Romans about the Nile is well attested, and Lucan, influenced no doubt by this expedition and by his uncle's interests, incorporated into his account of Caesar's visit to Egypt a long discourse on the sources of the Nile that richly deserves Housman's characterization as ungrammatical nonsense.<sup>3</sup>

However, more than scientific curiosity or ordinary conquest for commercial or political reasons seems implied in Tacitus' and Suetonius' reports of Nero's postponement of his trip to Alexandria in the year 64. Tacitus' words, *secretis imaginationibus*, imply this. One would not use them to describe commercial projects. Instead of being content with the usual auspices, Nero visited the temples, worshipping the gods in turn. At the shrine of Vesta, the most Roman of *numina*, a threatening omen made him change his plans. Suetonius says that the

<sup>1</sup> *N.H.* 6, 181-182. Note his curiously timely statement: *nec tamen arma Romana ibi solitudinem fecerunt*. Cf. *N.H.* 12, 19 on the mapping of Ethiopia by the expedition.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.N.* 6, 8, 3-4. B. Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (London, 1903), pp. 223-224, accepts the scientific purpose as the chief aim of the expedition.

<sup>3</sup> 10, 210-331. Note Caesar's words, 188-192:

sed, cum tanta meo uiuat sub pectore uirtus,  
tantus amor ueri, nihil est quod noscere malim,  
quam fluuii causas, per saecula tanta latentis  
ignotumque caput; spes sit mihi certa uidendi  
Niliacos fontes, bellum ciuile relinquam.

But, though such intellectual dignity & truth flourish in my breast, yet still nothing I would rather learn than causes, concealed so long, of the Nile, and the secret of its source. Give me sure hope to see the river springs, & I will abandon civil war.

This passage suggests Caesar as another model for Nero's supposed passion for scientific truth; in this case Caesar and Alexander would accept him as their heir, if Seneca's words were well founded. Did Seneca hope to make the scientific findings of the expedition seem important enough to make Nero willing to give up further plans?



fringe of his robe caught as he attempted to rise, *dein tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset*. Tacitus pictures him as overcome at the temple of Vesta by a fit of trembling, whether sent as a divine warning against his journey, or induced by the sudden consciousness of his fearful crimes.<sup>1</sup> Nero's protest that the city could not spare him for so long an absence was recognized as a very lame excuse and obviously did not prevent the circulation of rumors about the incident. What un-Roman 'secret imaginings' did Vesta try to thwart? In the third century there were books of occult lore in all the sanctuaries of Egypt, which Septimius Severus ordered should be collected and removed. Severus even had the tomb of Alexander closed, either to prevent men from viewing Alexander's body or to stop their using the secret books deposited with it.<sup>2</sup> We remember Pliny's account of Nero's hope to gain power over the gods by Magian arts. Did he now intend by the use of the hidden secrets of Egypt to gain wider sway than the former successors of Augustus? In any case, the tone of the accounts suggests a conflict between his duty as emperor and his 'secret imaginings,' a conflict that recalls the Senecan hostility to the tradition of Alexander. There may be some connection between this anecdote and Dio's statement that Nero gave up his eastern expedition in the hope that the Alani and Ethiopians would submit to him of their own accord.<sup>3</sup>

If the place of Ethiopia in the Alexander legend as we find it in the earliest extant texts was already developed in Nero's time, a hypothesis possible but not susceptible of proof since the earlier stages of the story are lost, then the secret plans are linked with the prophecy of oriental domination, and the whole forms a consistent picture. The emphasis on Ethiopia in the extant Sibylline texts suggests the plausibility of this theory.<sup>4</sup> The inscrutable ways of Biblical exegesis gave great promi-

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 36; Suet., *Nero* 19.

<sup>2</sup> Dio 76, 13.

<sup>3</sup> 63, 8. Dio confused postponement with actual change of plans, for only the revolts against Nero prevented the campaigns from taking place in 68/69. See Schur, *Orientalpolitik*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>4</sup> *Sib.* 3, 160, 208, 319-320; Ethiopia is named in the list of empires with Gog and Magog in the midst of her rivers. In 5, 194-195 the mourning of the great-souled Ethiopians and the black-skinned Indians is prophesied. Passages in oracles 8, 11, and 14 are similar, and emphasize the place of Ethiopia among the great empires and the sufferings of the 'hapless Ethiopians.' Ethiopia was regularly given a prominent place in the list of empires in the Slavic tradition. See H. Schaeder, *Moskau das dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929), pp. 45 ff., 64, and elsewhere.

nence to the mention of Ethiopia in Psalm 68, 31: 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.' This was interpreted as requiring a considerable place for that country in eschatological writings.<sup>1</sup> It came to be believed that the last empire of the world must be ruled by a dynasty *ex semine Ethiopiae*. To this end an elaborate tale was developed in which Alexander's mother was of Ethiopian stock, and the rulers of the three empires, Macedonia, Rome, and Greece (Byzantium), were all descended from her house. The version of this tale in the apocalyptic sermon of the pseudo-Methodius bears many signs of the influence of the Moslem expansion, during which the book was composed, but its kernel is far older, and the description of the world-savior resembles that of the earlier prophecies. When the need is greatest the king of the Greeks and Romans (clearly modelled after Alexander) will rise 'as a man from a drunken sleep, believed dead'; he will come from the Ethiopian sea and overcome the Ishmaelites; peace will reign on earth. Then the gates of the North will open and the enclosed nations will pour forth; God will annihilate the invaders, and the Roman king will reign in Jerusalem until the coming of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Here the old oracle applied to Nero and Vespasian had attained a more detailed development in connection with the legend of Alexander and apocalyptic prophecy. Alexander is the ruler of Ethiopian descent who shut out the nations of Gog and Magog by the Caspian Gates and whose descendant will return to rule in the last age of the world. If these elements were already present in the Alexandrian versions current in Nero's time, perhaps in the secret lore of the Egyptian sanctuaries, the connection of the Ethiopian and Caspian expeditions in Nero's aspirations, the opposition of Seneca's circle, and the implied mockery of Tacitus and Suetonius are easily accounted for. We may at least assume that Nero's plans were not limited to ordinary commercial and political policies, but possessed some ulterior significance that made them unacceptable to his soberer advisers, except as the latter were willing to play up to the emperor's ideas for the sake of their own more practical ends.

<sup>1</sup> Sackur, p. 9. The discussion here is based on his commentary and text of the pseudo-Methodius, but Sackur does not connect this with the case of Nero. See also Kampers, *Kaiseridee*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Sackur, pp. 40-41.

The Caspian Gates, as we have seen, were already associated with the apocalyptic legend of Alexander's barring of the pass against the 'enclosed nations' whom his iron bars would keep out of the civilized world until his second coming and the final conflict of Rome with the barbarous peoples. The historical kernel of the legend was a decisive point in the historical Alexander's career, the pursuit of Darius through the pass between Media and Parthia, called the Caspian Gates because of its proximity to Mount Caspius. But this pass was far removed from the Roman world by the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire. In Nero's time, or perhaps as early as that of Caesar, the name of Alexander was associated with the pass of Dariel in the central Caucasus on the road leading north from Tiflis, and Alexander's historic pursuit of the Persian king was being transformed into one of the most potent of the world's legends.<sup>1</sup> The new location of the Caspian Gates was important in the history of civilization; through the pass of Dariel came many of the earlier northern invaders of the East; through it within a few years after Nero the Alans were to make their way against the South,<sup>2</sup> and at the end of the fourth century Jerome was to record how the Huns, the Gog Magog of the Old Testament in the eyes of many who experienced their fury, came to attack Christendom by this same route.<sup>3</sup> The transfer, then, was less stupid than most geographical errors. If the true Caspian Gates were the keys of Asia the new ones were the keys of the North. Pliny indicates that the application of the name to the pass of Dariel was a recent innovation of which he disapproved. This pass should be called Caucasian instead of Caspian. He ascribed the error to Corbulo's preparatory expedition sent there to map the site in preparation for Nero's campaign; their destination was announced as the Caspian Gates; but the maps which they brought back showed the Caucasian pass of Dariel instead, leading through central Iberia to the Sarmatians. The true Caspian Gates were known, Pliny says, through the accounts of Alexander the Great.<sup>4</sup> But though he correctly associated the eastern pass, instead of Dariel, with Alexander, it was at the Caucasian pass, *magno errore multis Caspiae*

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Alexander*, pp. 130-163; also *Alexander's Gate*, esp. pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 7, 244-246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 77, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *N.H.* 6, 40.

*dictae*, that he placed the *fores obditaе ferratis trabibus* and the fortress on the rock, *ad arcendas transitu gentes innumeras, ibi loci terrarum orbe portis discluso*.<sup>1</sup> He does not mention Alexander's name in connection with this pass; the Roman scholar will have nothing to do with the Alexander of oriental legend, yet he accepts the iron gates set there against the outside nations according to a tradition invariably associated with him alone.

Whether the change of name had been made by the Romans in Caesar's time, as Anderson thought possible,<sup>2</sup> or only as a result of Corbulo's expedition, as Pliny states, it is clear that the precedent had been established in the East. The reasons why Nero's men accepted it are clear enough. The point was a strategic one; an offensive here would be of value, if successful, not only to Rome but to her now friendly neighbor, Parthia. Both countries would have profited by the prevention of the Alanic invasion of 72 A.D., and even more by the continued security of the pass. There could have been no more appropriate time for an action that would so emphasize the common interests of Rome and Parthia in this district, provided that the occupation could be successfully completed and maintained. On the latter point there was grave reason for doubt, as any practical man must have realized.<sup>3</sup> But the occupation of the pass and a demonstration against the tribes living beyond it were inevitable for the heir of the legendary Alexander. Pliny shows that the location of the original Caspian Gates was clearly known by Roman geographers, and that Nero's expedition deliberately ignored it in favor of the Caucasian site; his tone makes it clear that the name was a matter of current controversy, and he has small patience with the new map. Why should the change have been made, in the face of well established knowledge, if the Alexander motif was not of cardinal importance in the whole scheme? The error persisted until the time of Heraclius, when Alexander's exploit began to be associated with the pass of Derbend, about 180 miles eastward, close to the Cas-

<sup>1</sup> *N.H.* 6, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander's Gate*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*<sup>11</sup>, V, pp. 393-394; Anderson, *Alexander*, pp. 144-147. That Vologaeses so interpreted the projected expedition is clearly shown by his request to Vespasian, not merely for aid against the Alani but for troops under the generalship of one of the emperor's sons (Suetonius, *Dom.* 2, 2); a plan which fell through, in spite of Domitian's interest. Cf. Mommsen, p. 396.



pian Sea. This pass became the conventional location of Alexander's gates for Persian and western mediaeval writers, and commands the route now commonly used by travellers.<sup>1</sup>

Anderson's detailed study of the problem of the Caspian Gates, which has formed the chief basis of the discussion above, appeared several years after Schur's work on Nero's eastern policy. The evidence which Anderson amassed for the history of the name undermines Schur's arguments for the pass of Derbend as the goal of Nero's expedition. The cogency of Schur's theory that the campaign was a continuation of the great Seleucid tradition depends in large measure on the validity of the Derbend site, with its control of the approaches to the commerce of the Caspian Sea. The Dariel objective would not meet the requirements of a primarily commercial motive for the campaign.<sup>2</sup> Another point may be made in this connection. Schur's choice of the pass of Derbend is determined largely by the fact that Tacitus explicitly states that Nero dispatched his troops *ad claustra Caspiana et bellum quod in Albanos parabat*, while Josephus and Pliny both name the Alans as the people to be attacked.<sup>3</sup> The Albani connote Derbend, not Dariel, and if the pass of Derbend were a possible location for the Caspian Gates at the time, the preference for Tacitus over Pliny and Josephus, and the interpretations that depend on it, might perhaps stand. There are, however, aside from Anderson's study of the geographical question, two contemporary sources that do not seem to have received adequate consideration. While the Albani had been familiar to the Romans in the first century B.C., notably because of Pompey's experiences with them in the Mithridatic Wars, and are discussed at length in Strabo's *Geography*,<sup>4</sup> the Alani did not then appear under their separate name, but were included among the Sarmatians. Similarity of name led to confusion, such as we must posit in either Tacitus or Pliny, and there was a natural tendency to use the more

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Alexander*, pp. 130, 150 ff. See the description of the Grusinian military road through the Dariel pass in C. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I (Berlin, 1910), pp. 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> Schur, *Orientpolitik*, pp. 62-66, 81-84.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 6, 9. Dessau, II, 1, p. 274, note 2, suggests that the expedition may have been aimed against both the Albani and the Alani.

<sup>4</sup> 5, *passim*; 11, 3, 5 on Pompey's use of the Albanian passes.



familiar name. In Seneca's *Thyestes*, the Alani were introduced as a savage people, at the opposite extreme from the civilized Greeks:

quaenam ista regio est? Argos et Sparta, pios <sup>what place is this? Is</sup>  
 sortita fratres, et maris gemini premens <sup>Argos, or Sparta which for</sup>  
 fauces Corinthos, an feris Hister fugam <sup>gave loving brothers? Corin</sup>  
 praebens Alanis . . .<sup>1</sup> <sup>vesting on the narrow bound</sup>  
<sup>of two seas? Or the Ister,</sup>  
<sup>giving chance of flight</sup>  
<sup>the barbar</sup>  
<sup>Alani</sup>

The most recently known of the barbarians are here brought into telling contrast with cities old before Rome, and the lines would be the more effective at a time when a Roman expedition against the Alans was expected to give them occasion for flight.

The other passage is more closely connected with Nero's plans. Lucan, who found so many opportunities to link current interests with the events of the civil wars, describes Pompey's flight from Pharsalus:

terrarum dominos et sceptras Eoa tenentes <sup>The exile was escorted</sup>  
 exul habet comites. <sup>the lords of the earth the</sup>  
<sup>at the East.</sup>

Pompey orders Deiotarus to undertake a mission to the Parthian king; Rome is lost, only one recourse remains:

Eoam temptare fidem, populosque bibentis <sup>It remains to test</sup>  
 Euphraten et adhuc securum a Caesare Tigrim. <sup>regence of the East,</sup>  
<sup>Nations that drink the</sup>  
<sup>Euphrates + Tigris.</sup>

The plea to the Parthian king is to rest on Pompey's former generosity to him; when all the kings of the East walked in his triumphs at Rome, the Parthian alone was treated as an equal. Now the time has come for the Parthians, with Pompey's help, to conquer Rome, who will let herself be defeated.<sup>2</sup> The theme was familiar in the rhetorical exercises of the schools; Quintilian gives as an example of *triplex suasoria*: *cum Pompeius deliberabat, Parthos an Africam an Aegyptum peteret*.<sup>3</sup> Here as elsewhere, Lucan's description of the earlier situation is

<sup>1</sup> 627-630. This passage and the lines of Lucan discussed below are cited by E. Täubler, "Zur Geschichte der Alanen," *Klio*, IX (1909), pp. 14-17, as the earliest Roman mentions of the Alani, and as showing that Nero's plans brought a knowledge of the Alans to the Romans, but Täubler does not suggest any particular motive in Lucan's shift of Pompey's campaigns to the Alani. His article has not been given due attention in later discussions of the question.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 203-238; lines 208-209, 212-213 are quoted. For discussion of Lucan's interest in Nero's plans for world conquest, see A. D. Nock, "The Proem of Lucan," *Classical Review*, XL (1926), pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Inst.* 3, 8, 33.

colored by contemporary interests. Pompey might have forced the Parthians to flee to Babylon:

peterem cum Caspia claustra, <sup>when I marched to</sup>  
et sequerer duros aeterni Martis Alanos.<sup>1</sup> <sup>the Caspian Gates and per-</sup>  
<sup>sued the hardy Alani,</sup>  
<sup>et videro</sup>

The Caspian Gates, however, are not mentioned in any of the numerous accounts of Pompey's Caucasian winter, and all the sources agree that it was the Albani who broke their truce and unsuccessfully attacked him. No mention is made of the Alani. It is difficult to see any explanation of Lucan's version except a deliberate allusion to the proposed campaign. Since there is no evidence of textual disagreement and *Albanos* would be metrically impossible, we must conclude that Lucan intentionally made the shift in the location of Pompey's winter-quarters of the year 66 B.C. and in the name of the people near whom he wintered, in order to associate Nero's plans with an episode in Pompey's great war. At a time when the Alani and the Caspian Gates were objects of general interest, the change would not seem forced.<sup>2</sup> The consensus of Pliny, Josephus, and Lucan against Tacitus seems conclusive in support of Anderson's researches into the vexed geography of the Caucasus. Nero thus appears again as the successor of the hero Alexander rather than of the Seleucids.<sup>3</sup>

But the great eastern expedition was postponed by more tragic and final causes than before, and Nero was faced by the fulfilment of the first part of the astrologers' prophecy:

<sup>1</sup> 8, 222-233.

<sup>2</sup> An odd point in this connection is that Tomaschek describes Pompey's expedition *s.v. Albani* in Pauly-Wissowa, I, cols. 1305-1307 as making that people known to the Romans, but *s.v. Alani, ibid.*, col. 1282, he represents Pompey as having subdued the Alans, on the basis of Lucan's reference, though this clearly applies to the same episode as the other sources, which name only the *Albani*. Ammianus Marcellinus tries to solve the problem by identifying the Alans with the Albani, when he writes (23, 5, 16): *nempe ut Lucullum transeam uel Pompeium, qui per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione perrupta, adiuit Caspios lacus*. But as Ammianus says elsewhere (31, 2, 12) the whole question of the Alans is characterized by *geographica perplexitate*.

<sup>3</sup> Schur, *Orientpolitik*, p. 113, sees the eastern plans as 'nichts anders als die Rückkehr zu den grossen Traditionen des Hellenismus,' but the Hellenism of the earlier period had expanded to include other great traditions than those of the Macedonian generals.

uarie agitauit, Parthosne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum proque rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione ueniam praeteritorum precaretur, ac ni flexisset animos, uel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret. inuentus est postea in scrinio eius hac de re sermo formatus; sed deterritum putant, ne prius quam in forum peruenerit discerneretur.<sup>1</sup>

Flight to the Parthians and the prefecture of Egypt were alternatives either of which would be a natural step toward recovery of power through eastern sovereignty. If we compare the plans that Lucan ascribed to Pompey in a somewhat parallel situation, it is clear that men who accepted the application of the Sibylline prophecies to Nero might see in his flight to the East an opportunity for the recovery of Asiatic wealth and pride at the cost of Rome. The author of the Johannine Apocalypse was presently to include in his picture of the days to come the destruction of Rome by Nero as Antichrist, aided by the Parthians from the Euphrates.<sup>2</sup> For after Nero's death, the expectation of his appearance among the Parthians as a fugitive from Rome was transformed into belief in his second coming from the dead. His flight to Parthia was early inserted as prophetic truth in the Sibylline texts, notably in the fourth oracle, written about 80 A.D.

καὶ τότε ἅπ' Ἰταλίας βασιλεὺς μέγας οἶα τε δράστης  
φεύξεται ἄφαντος ἄπυστος ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐφρήταο,  
ὁππότε δὴ μητρῶον ἄγος στυγεροῖο φόνοιο  
τλήσεται ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, κακῇ σὺν χειρὶ πιθήσας.  
πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφὶ θρόνῳ Ῥώμης πέδον αἰμάξουσιν  
κείνου ἀποδρήσαντος ὑπὲρ Παρθηίδα γαῖαν.  
εἰς Συρίην δ' ἥξει Ῥώμης πρόμος, ὃς πυρὶ νηὸν  
συμφλέξας Σολύμων, πολλοὺς δ' ἅμα ἀνδροφονήσας  
Ἰουδαίων ὀλέσει μεγάλην χθόνα εὐρύαγυιαν.

ἔς δὲ δύσιν τότε νεῖκος ἐγειρομένου πολέμοιο  
ἥξει καὶ Ῥώμης ὁ φυγὰς, μέγα ἔγχος ἀείρας,  
Εὐφρήτην διαβὰς πολλαῖς ἅμα μυριάδεσσιν.

<sup>1</sup> *Suet.*, Nero 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev.* 13, 16-17, written about 70 A.D. See Norden, *Josephus*, p. 659; Bousset, pp. 121-122.

ἤξει δ' εἰς Ἀσίην πλοῦτος μέγας, ὃν ποτε Ῥώμη  
 αὐτὴ συλήσασα πολυκτέανον κατὰ δῶμα  
 θήκατο. καὶ δις ἔπειτα τοσαῦτα καὶ ἄλλ' ἀποδώσει  
 εἰς Ἀσίην, τότε δ' ἔσται ὑπέρκτησις πολέμοιο.<sup>1</sup>

The theme of Nero's return reappears in another oracle, which dates from the early part of the reign of Hadrian:

πεντήκοντα δ' ὅτις κεραίην λάχε, κοίρανος ἔσται,  
 δεινὸς ὅφισ φυσῶν πόλεμον βαρύν, ὃς ποτε χεῖρας  
 ἧς γενεῆς τανύσας ὀλέσει καὶ πάντα ταράξει  
 ἀθλεύων ἐλάων κτείνων καὶ μυρία τολμῶν·  
 καὶ τμήξει τὸ δίκυμον ὄρος λύθρῳ τε παλάξει·  
 ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ ἄιστος ὀλοῖος· εἴτ' ἀνακάμψει  
 ἰσάζων θεῶ ἀυτόν· ἐλέγξει δ' οὐ μιν ἔοντα.<sup>2</sup>

So Nero was to fulfil the early oracles and with Parthian aid requite Asia for all that she had lost at the hands of Rome. He is described in another oracle as the fugitive matricide from the borders of the world, who restores to Asia her former wealth.<sup>3</sup> It is small wonder that when this belief was current there was such popular enthusiasm for each pretender to Nero's name in the next generations.

The real popularity of Nero with the Parthians in his later years, when hostility to him was increasing so disastrously in the West, naturally fostered the spread of these ideas in Parthia. Vologaeses' request to the Senate, *ut Neronis memoria coleretur*,<sup>4</sup> was a reminder of the friendship between the two rulers, and also of the Mithraic aspects of Tiridates' coronation. Even at Rome, where Nero's death seemed at first an enfranchisement of the city:

<sup>1</sup> *Sib.* 4, 119-127, 137-139, 145-148. See also Norden, *Josephus*, p. 659.

<sup>2</sup> *Sib.* 5, 28-34. Note how hostility to Nero had increased in contrast with the enthusiastic praise of Hadrian that characterizes these lines. See Rzach's discussion in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reihe* II, IV, col. 2136. He maintains the Jewish origin of the oracle, a disputed point.

<sup>3</sup> *Sib.* 8, 71-72; Norden, *Josephus*, p. 660, described the return of Nero as leader of the war against Rome as the most striking development of the age-old idea of retribution.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Nero* 57.



tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus uernis aestiisque floribus tumulum eius ornarent ac modo imagines praetextatas in rostris proferrent, modo edicta quasi uiuentis et breui magno inimicorum malo reuersuri.<sup>1</sup>

Too much of the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber for the eastern prophecies to lack influence at Rome. The violent end of Rome's first imperial dynasty was, to be sure, exactly the type of event to engender a belief that the last of the Claudians was not really dead; witness the persistence of the 'lost dauphin' stories, and more recently, those of the survival of daughters of the Czar, and in Sweden, the belief that Kruger is still alive. In Nero's case the conviction had a widespread support through the prophecies that could be transmuted from folklore into action whenever a pseudo-Nero appeared. This action was developed, as was natural, chiefly in the East. The opportunity was not long in coming, as Tacitus' dramatic tale of the pseudo-Nero of the year 70 indicates; it would have been strange if no adventurer had seized the opportunity to satisfy the expectations of Nero's second coming, especially when the provinces were learning what disasters followed the end of the Julian dynasty. *Inde late terror: multi ad celebritatem hominis erecti rerum nouarum cupidine et odio praesentium.*<sup>2</sup> When chance had shattered the increasing fame of the new Nero before his supposed destiny could be fulfilled, the way was left open for others to profit by the strained relations between Parthia and Rome and by the opportunity which their cause afforded for avenging old losses, and these pretenders nearly precipitated war between the two empires.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising, in view of Tacitus' gloomy picture of the period that followed Nero's reign, *atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum*,<sup>4</sup> that the memory of the imperial government of the Julian line as a whole should occasionally blot out hatred of indi-

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Nero* 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist.* 2, 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 2: *mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falso Neronis ludibrio*. Cf. Dio 64, 9, 2; 66, 19, 3; Dio Prusias 21, 10; *Sib.* 4, 119-124, quoted above. For a briefer summary of the episode see the article *Terentius* (59) in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reihe* II, IX, col. 666, and the discussion in A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seine Nachbarländer* (Tübingen, 1888), p. 138, in which the suggestion is made that the Parthians were glad to requite the Romans for the many occasions on which they had suffered from Roman interference with their dynastic struggles.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist.* 1, 2.



viduals belonging to it, a hatred which had in any case been chiefly concentrated in Rome. So when Terentius Maximus in 88 claimed to be Nero, *tam fauorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut uehementer adiutus et uix redditus sit*,<sup>1</sup> and the Parthians had every reason to expect support from the neighboring eastern provincials. The inevitable disillusionment was not due to the decline of prophetic conviction so much as to the inadequacy of the pseudo-Neros to carry out their Messianic role — οὐ μὴν ἄξιόν τι τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐργάσασθαι.<sup>2</sup> The amazing *Fortleben* of Nero in the hostile Christian adaptations of belief in his second coming to his role as Antichrist falls beyond the scope of this paper, but its origins in his connection with oriental prophecy are sufficiently clear.<sup>3</sup>

The eastern ideas that appear most prominently in Nero's reign were of diverse origin, Iranian, Jewish, and the products of earlier Hellenistic syncretism. Nero's natural interest in such ideas, and his acquaintance with them, are clearly indicated by the writers of his day. He had before him the ideal of a great ruler, sometimes seen as the incarnation or the descendant and successor of Alexander, whose coming was associated with the expected ending of the *saeculum* after his reign of peace, or with the return of power to Asia as the basis for a universal kingdom which should end the last of the four great ages. In this light the expeditions to Ethiopia and the Caspian Gates may be seen as means toward the creation of a power alien to practical imperialism, that must have seemed fantastic and megalomaniac to conservative Romans. The emperor's superhuman destiny was accepted by many men within the Empire, and by many of Rome's Parthian neighbors, and not least, though in a sense hostile to Nero, by the adherents of the oriental religion that was, before many centuries, to become the leading force in the Roman world. On the other hand, the hostile reaction of Seneca and others to the Alexander legend suggests an undercurrent of opposition to oriental ideas that may have been more potent than the outspoken anti-Semitism of a Juvenal. In any case, the next imperial dynasty rested on solidly Italian bourgeois

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Nero* 57.

<sup>2</sup> Joann. Antioch., fr. 104 (Mueller).

<sup>3</sup> *Rev.* 16, 2; 17, 7. Cf. Bousset, *passim*; Norden, *Josephus*, pp. 659 ff; C. Pascal, *Nerone nella Storia Aneddottica e nella Leggenda* (Milan, 1923), ch. 15.

foundations, and despite the early application of the Jewish prophecy to Vespasian, the first Flavian ruler foreswore Messianic ambitions and put off consideration of a more than human destiny until approaching death removed him from practical concerns.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Vesp.* 23, 4.





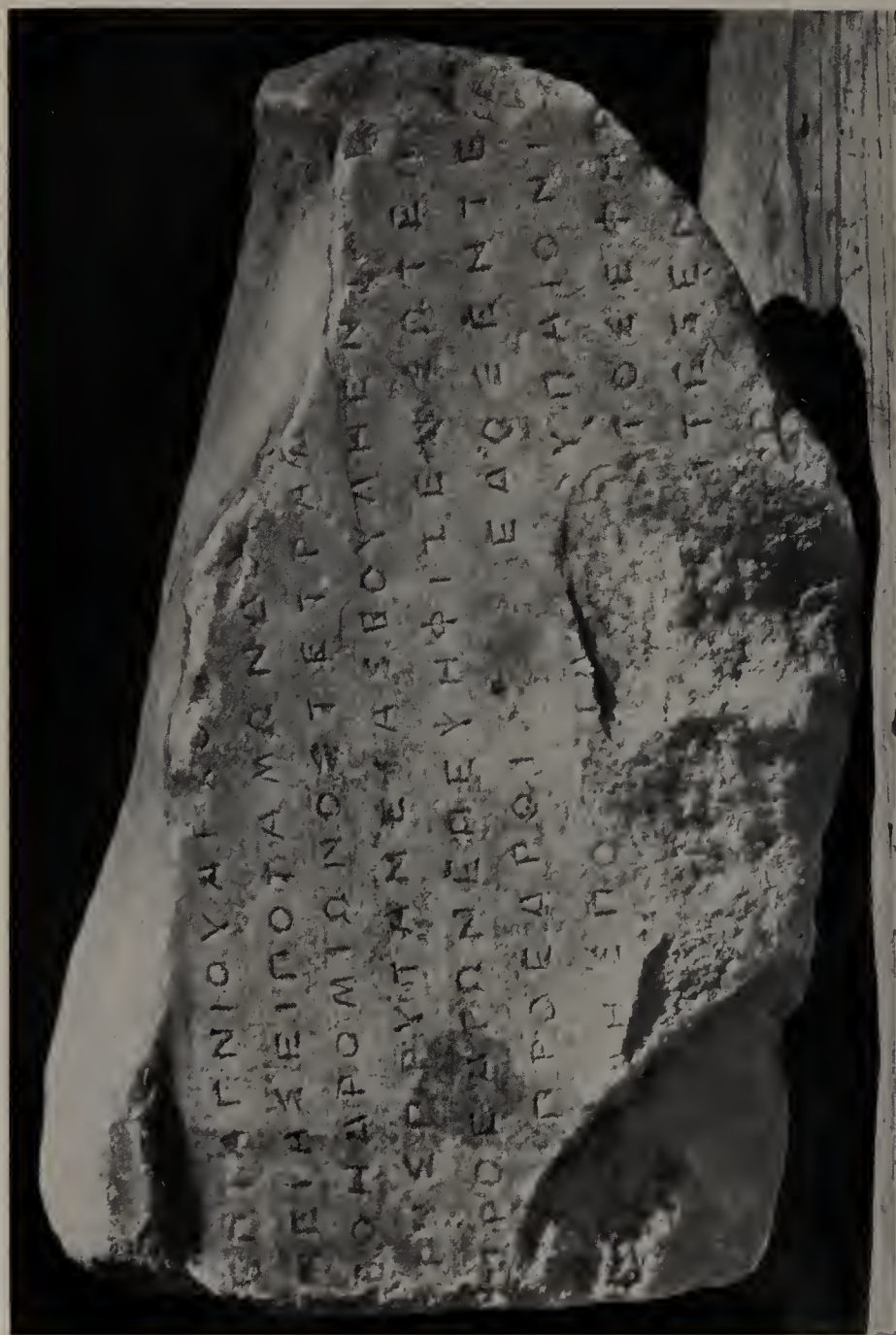


Figure 1. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794. Scale 1:2.



# ATHENIAN DECREES OF 216-212 B.C.

BY STERLING DOW

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## A DECREE HONORING EPHEBES

ONE of the earliest findings in a study of the lettering of Hellenistic Athenian inscriptions, which I began some years ago, was that the Archon Hagnias, formerly dated in the evidence of style in the middle of the third century B.C., should be placed in the generation after 230/29. The leading style of that period is easily recognizable: the upright strokes of alpha, delta, and lambda are not joined at the top.<sup>1</sup> Of this style the decree<sup>2</sup> of the year of Hagnias, *I(nscriptiones) G(raecae)*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, is clearly an illustration (Fig. 1). The same hand, moreover, which cut the decree of the year of Hagnias also cut one of the year (229/8) of Heliodoros.<sup>3</sup> Hagnias is mentioned also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> A brief discussion, with a list of the inscriptions involved, appears in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XL (1936), pp. 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition was by Pittakys ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 3479), the second by Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 372), and the third by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>), who first assigned a date to the lettering. This date has been accepted by all who have dealt with the Archon: summary in W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. (1931), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Leipzig, 1935), no. 92. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 833.

1292, a decree of *Σαραπισται*.<sup>1</sup> Here again we come upon the disjointed, official style of the period, though the hand is not the same.

Not long after the discovery that the style of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794 and 1292 placed Hagnias soon after 230 B.C., it appeared that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, line 131 could be read as *Ἀρχ(ων) [Ἀ]γ[νία]ς Ἐρχι[εύς]*. This fixed the date 216/5 as a strong probability for Hagnias.<sup>2</sup>

There is confirmation for the date and demotic in the *P(rosopographia) A(ttica)*.<sup>3</sup> Because the names Hagnias and Dromeas were both known in Erchia, whereas the uncommon name Hagnias is attached to but four other demotics, and the rare name Dromeas to only one other, Kirchner inferred that a trierarch of 326/5, Hagnias son of Dromeas, was of Erchia (*P.A.* 126). A more immediate relative of the Archon is probably Dromokles, who made a contribution in 183/2 (*P.A.* 4569). The father of Dromokles was probably the Archon Hagnias, for the son of Dromokles was named Hagnias; the younger Hagnias also was able to contribute to the same fund of 183/2 (*P.A.* 130). Timothea, the wife of one or the other Hagnias, dedicated some object of which we have the inscribed marble base. The family was evidently stable, distinguished, and propertied; moreover it appears to have had even more distinguished connections: the name Dromeas appears several times in that great Erchian family in which the other name is Diokles.<sup>4</sup> Probably this family also was descended from the trierarch of 326/5, re-

<sup>1</sup> A study of this and related inscriptions will appear in the *Harvard Theological Review*.

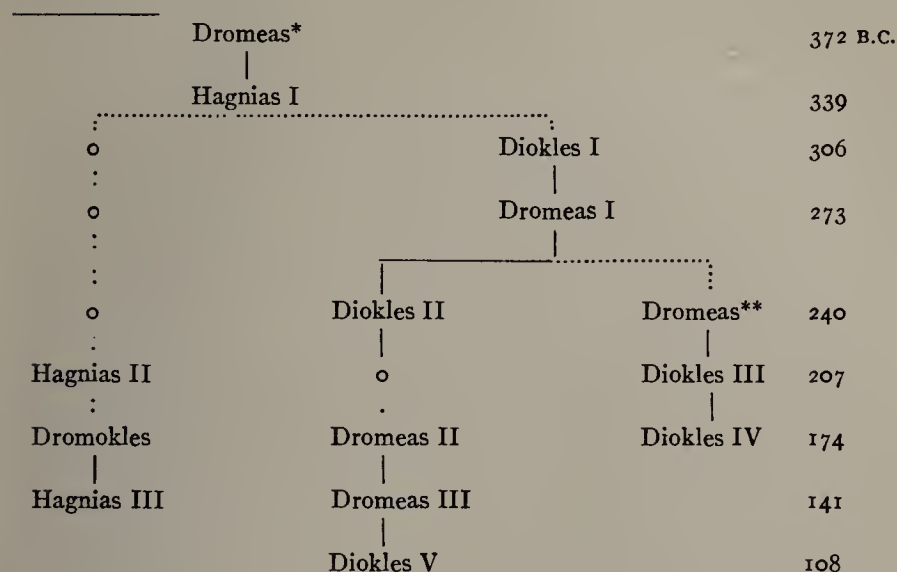
<sup>2</sup> For the date and a new text, see *Hesperia* II (1933), pp. 445, 437. The obscure traces are not of the sort which permit a decisive verdict.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kirchner, Berlin, 1901-1903.

<sup>4</sup> The stemma in *P.A.*, I, p. 269, needs emendation as respects the chronology. Thus we now have dates, following Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, for Dromeas I in 275/4 and 253/2; for Diokles II in 253/2; Diokles III was an ephebe in 237/6; Diokles IV, 172/1, was probably the son not of Diokles II but of the ephebe, and cousin of Dromeas II, a contributor in 183/2; Dromeas III won a hippic contest in 157/6; Diokles V was a *πυθαιστῆς παῖς* (i.e., under thirteen years of age) in ca. 137 (*N.P.A.* 57). The system of 33-year intervals given by Kirchner is therefore nearly a generation too early for the *floruit* of each of the later individuals, so that we need to insert one more generation. In the following scheme, which is not final but merely an improvement, the archon of 216/5 B.C. and his descendants are also included. Dotted lines indicate conjectures, and solid lines indicate that the patronymic is known:

taining his father's name Dromeas, while the other line, keeping his own name Hagnias, used the cognate form Dromokles.<sup>1</sup>

Erchia was in the Midlands. The hypothesis of the dominance at this time of the Midlands in Athenian politics<sup>2</sup> fits the present evidence<sup>3</sup>



This scheme involves the abandonment of the theory that Dromeas I and Diokles II, who contributed in the year of Diomedon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 791, lines 36 and 37), being listed immediately after the brothers Eurykleides and Mikion, were also brothers.

Of which Hagnias Timothea (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4688) was the wife, I am uncertain, not having seen the lettering.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1705, line 1, has been wrongly read, as I shall show elsewhere. Hence no Diokles appears in that inscription.

<sup>1</sup> This too is an uncommon name; only two other demotics are known. One such Dromokles, who perhaps was related by marriage, was a *thesmothetes* of the very year 216/5 (*P.A.* 4571). We know also of a Dromokles of some position in the late first century; J. Sundwall, *N(achträge zur) P(rosopographia) A(ttica)*, Helsingfors, Finska Vetenskaps-societetens (1910), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London (1911), pp. 204, 207, 231-232; *The Priests of Asklepios*, University of California Publications, Classical Philology I, 5 (Berkeley, Apr. 14, 1906, separate reprint 1907), pp. 131-173, cf. p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 791 has contributors distributed as follows: Midlands 35, Coast 19, City 13. The archontes of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 have not been counted before: Midlands 39, Coast 33, City 22. We should note, however, that if the list of small contributors *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2332 be counted, reckoning only those individuals who were given demotics, we have Midlands 54, Coast 57, City 50. This to be sure was in 183/2, a whole generation later.

but, as Gomme reminds us,<sup>1</sup> in interpreting the figures we must remember that a citizen did not have to reside in his deme. It seems likely enough, however, that in the generation of the Archon the families of Hagnias and of Diokles, wherever they actually resided, were prominent in the state.

The inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, to which we now turn, is strictly not *stoichedon*,<sup>2</sup> but the lettering, as in most inscriptions with this arrangement, is fairly regular (Fig. 1), and extensive restoration is possible. The general rules to be followed are (1) that iota regularly occupies half a space, and (2) that lines begin with syllables.<sup>3</sup> The subject of the decree was discovered by Meritt (letter), who assisted me with the calendar problem also. He read the last letter of line 7 as beta instead of the accepted tau.<sup>4</sup> This shows that the decree honored ephebes, and hence that it was passed by the Demos as well as by the Boule. The formula of passage, when thus restored in line 6, should be placed with approximate symmetry: that is, a gap of some 4 full spaces should be left blank after it to balance the 4 spaces before the formula. The resulting line is of  $42\frac{1}{2}$  spaces. That this is approximately correct is shown by lines 1 and 2. Line 1 cannot be more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  space longer; line 2 cannot be more than 1 space shorter. Lines 7-9, when restored with the letters naturally to be expected, conform. The text follows:

216/5 B.C.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794Not *stoichedon* c.  $42\frac{1}{2}$ 

Ἐπὶ Ἀγνίου ἀρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἑ. 10<sup>1</sup> - - τρίτης πρυτανείας, εἰ Ποτάμων Δοκ[ίμου - - ἑ. 12 - - ἐγραμμάτευεν]  
 Βοηδρομιῶνος τετράδ[ι μετ' εἰκάδας, ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰκόστει]  
 τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλή ἐν τῷ[ι Ἐλευσινίῳ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν]

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford (1933), p. 40, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Johnson was misled by the regularity when he insisted, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIV (1913), p. 406; *Classical Philology*, IX (1914), p. 437, that the arrangement was *stoichedon*, as had Koehler and Pittakys also. Since these scholars undoubtedly saw at least a squeeze, we have an impressive instance of how easily an original error can force itself into the minds of successive observers.

<sup>3</sup> For the regularity and restoration of inscriptions which are not *stoichedon*, see *Hesperia* II (1933), p. 442, and *Hesperia*, Supplement I (1937), pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> It has since come to my attention that Pittakys anticipated this crucial reading in line 8. He also read the patronymic in line 7.



5 προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Σωτέλη[ς - - - - - <sup>c. 16</sup> - - - - - καὶ]  
 [σ]μπρόεδροι <sup>ν ν ν</sup> ἔδοξεν τε[ῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῶι δῆμωι <sup>ν ν ν</sup>]  
 [- <sup>3 1/2</sup> -] ≡ ης Ποσειδ[ι[ππ]ου Παιονίδ[ης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι]  
 [οἱ ἐπ' Εὐάνδρου ἄρχον]τος ἔφηβ[εύσαντες διετέλεσαν εὔ]  
 [τακτοὶ καὶ πειθαρχοῦ]ντες ἐν [- - - - - <sup>c. 21 1/2</sup> - - - - -]  
 10 [- - - - - <sup>c. 16</sup> - - - - -] ο [- - - - -]

*Line 2.* The third letter of the patronymic may have been nu.

*Line 4.* The place of meeting will be established below by enumeration of the various known meeting-places of the Boule. Dinsmoor's suggestion<sup>1</sup> for restoring ἐκκλησία after the mention of the Eleusinion fills the space if we add καὶ. In its defence can be cited the long form in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 897 of 185/4, βουλή ἐμ βουλευτηρίω σύνκλητος στρατ[ηγῶν] | παραγγειλάντων καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐκκλησία [κυρία] | ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ, or the somewhat similar forms in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 911 and 954.

*Line 8.* Euandros was suggested by Ferguson<sup>2</sup> as the Archon of the preceding year (217/6). The name fits exactly.

*Lines 8-9.* The restoration of the formulae is based on *Hesperia* III (1934), no. 17, p. 14, lines 10-11, of 171/0 B.C. The introductory formulae of the earlier third century were different (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, 700).

There is no other published decree in honor of ephebes in the period 229-200 B.C. In the middle of the third century, registration had dropped to 31 by 237/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787 is the latest). In the prosperous second century, when the records are again full, the corps has increased by 138/7 B.C. to 107 ephebes (*Hesperia* IV [1935], p. 74, line 45, is the earliest). No close estimate is possible from the fragment *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, but the width of the stele (*ca.* 0.50 m.) suggests that nothing like 100, and probably less than 50, were listed. The stelae from earlier in the third century, which have lists averaging 29 ephebes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, 681, 766, 787), are of about the same width as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794. The new freedom from Macedon after 229 B.C. increased the enrolment far less than the new wealth which came especially from Delos after 166 B.C. Athens was comparatively poor in the late third century.

<sup>1</sup> *Archons*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. (1932), pp. 99 ff.



## PLACES OF MEETING OF THE BOULE

1. The regular meeting-place of the Boule was of course the Bouleuterion;<sup>1</sup> it is specified in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 330 (second decree), 361, 847, 897, 898, 948, 1012, 1014, 1046, and regularly in the many decrees passed in honor of officers of the *prytaneis*. The formula always omits the article: *βουλή ἐν* (later *ἐμ*) *βουλευτηρίῳ*. The restoration of this formula, therefore, is excluded from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794.

2. There is one record of meetings, apparently regular, in the dock-yards: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 57, lines 53-54, of the year 426/5. Such meetings would not, of course, out-last sea-power.

3. The Boule met on the Acropolis at times: we learn this from Andocides, *De Myst.* 45 (in time of stress the Boule was dispatched to spend the night on the Acropolis); Xenophon, *Hell.*, 6, 4, 20 (*τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλή ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη* — as if it were a common occurrence).

4. An isolated reference occurs in 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, lines 243 ff.) to a meeting at the Piraeus *ἐπὶ χώματι, περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου*.

5, 6. When we consider sessions in the Eleusinion after the Mysteries, we shall find one record of a meeting which adjourned from the Bouleuterion to reconvene in the Eleusinion several days after the Mysteries had ended, instead of meeting in the Eleusinion on the very day after (*below*, pp. 117-118). Because the day of the month was soon after the Mysteries, Koehler restored *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794 with the meeting in the Eleusinion, and since we cannot supply the formula for a meeting in the Bouleuterion or in any other place known to us as a place where the Boule sat, we have additional reason for accepting Koehler's view. Van der Loeff<sup>2</sup> doubts it, but the alternatives (numbers 8 and 9 of the present list) proposed by him are unknown until after Sulla. These are the only mentions in inscriptions of meetings in the Eleusinion: we shall note Graindor's reading of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072, line 3, giving a meeting in Eleusis.<sup>3</sup> For meetings of the Boule in the Eleusinion after the

<sup>1</sup> Aeschines 3, 62, reads *εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης*. F. Blass, *Aeschinis Orationes*, Lipsiae (B. C. Teubner, 1896), would bracket the phrase *εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον* unwarrantably. The phrase is not superfluous, and it adds force to the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> A. Van der Loeff, *De ludis Eleusiniis*, Leyden, (1903), p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Below*, p. 116.

Eleusinian Mysteries, we have a suggestive parallel in meetings of the Ekklesia ἐν Διονύσου after the Dionysia (Demosthenes, 21, 8; Aeschines, 2, 61). That the Boule merely, not the Ekklesia, met in the Eleusinion may have been due to limitations of space.<sup>1</sup>

7. Another place of meeting, also mentioned but once, is [βουλὴ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 783 of 163/2),<sup>2</sup> a meeting which honored a priest of Zeus Soter, whose temple was at the Piraeus.<sup>3</sup>

8, 9, 10. In the period 83-78 B.C., we find a unique formula which records a meeting [ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ (ἰωι βουλῇ)] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039), and in 38/7 B.C. another solitary formula, [β]ουλὴ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἢ [μεταχ]-θεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Πα[ναθη]ναϊκοῦ σταδίου (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043). Both of these decrees honor ephebes. The places of meeting are intelligible enough, but clearly it would be unsafe to argue from them that in earlier periods also the Boule sat in these places.

#### THE CALENDAR OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

The chief interest of the decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, dated in the year of Hagnias, has been in its unique bearing on the problem of what day was the first official day of business after the holidays of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The body of evidence concerning the daily calendar of the celebration is of two sorts, literary and epigraphical. The literary evidence does not establish the terminal date, but a recently perfected epigraphical text can be used to fix the day in question, and incidentally to determine the restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, which is not itself decisive on this point. Several other inscriptions which date from the period of the holidays have also been clarified recently, and a proper

<sup>1</sup> Since meetings in the Eleusinion are attested by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794 and 848 for a period of thirteen tribes, the Eleusinion would appear to have had a capacity of (13 × 50 = ) 650, or somewhat fewer if we admit that full attendance may have been rare.

<sup>2</sup> For the date, Meritt in *Hesperia* III (1934), pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 1026, n. 3, groups this with the inscription telling of the meeting on the mole (No. 4 in the present list). This seems dubious; more likely they sat in one of the theaters. It will be proved by me elsewhere that a decree of the Ekklesia, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 893, restored by Wilhelm to give a meeting in the Kerameikos, is almost certainly a record of a meeting in the Piraeus (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 977): in line 7 [τοῦ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ θεάτρο]ν fits the space.

treatment of the problem calls for a discussion of the various items under headings for the successive days of the period.

The literary evidence concerns mainly the religious events: these have been treated elsewhere, and references will suffice.<sup>1</sup> The epigraphical evidence concerns mainly the meetings of the political bodies. The Athenian Boule met every day except holidays and 'unlucky' days,<sup>2</sup> and it may be assumed as a fact that any day not available for a meeting of the Boule was also not available for any of the meetings of the Ekklesia, which assembled four times each month.

*Boedromion 13.* *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078 is a decree of ca. 210/1 A.D. which was passed to re-establish the calendar of the Mysteries. On the 13th, [κ]ατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμι[μα], the ephebes are to march to Eleusis (lines 11-12). No decree of this day is extant.

*Boedromion 14.* *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078: the ephebes bring the *ιερά* from Eleusis to the Eleusinion (τοῦ ὑπὸ [τῇ π]όλει). The first decree of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 was passed on this day, which was therefore not an official holiday.

*Boedromion 15.* Ἀγυρμός and πρόρρησις. Hesychius (*s.v.*) says that the day ἀγυρμός was the first day of the Mysteries. No decree of this day is extant. These two facts point to the 15th as the day of an official sacrifice in the Eleusinion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, Leipzig (1898), pp. 244-245, allowed four days for the business holiday at the time of the Mysteries, namely Boedromion 19, 20, 21, 22. Van der Loeff, *De ludis Eleus.*, Leyden (1903), pp. 89 ff., argued that the evidence at our disposal was inconclusive. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris (1914), p. 358, mentioned *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794 as the crucial text, then uncertainly restored to give the 24th as the first day of business. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin (1932), p. 91, has accepted this agnostic conclusion; in his table, after p. 267, he makes a tentative entry of the Mysteries proper for Boedromion 20, 21, 22; in agreement with most others, he would have the procession on the 19th. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo (1934), p. 153, gives Boedromion 13-28 as the extreme dates. For the 28th, see below under Boedromion 22. Cf. also Cornford in *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 528 for the calendar of the 14th-19th, and for events of the 20th, *Homeric Hymns*, edd. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday (and E. E. Sikes), second edition, Oxford (1936), pp. 136, 150, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 43, 3, with the commentary by Sandys (second edition).

<sup>3</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Aпол.* 4, 18; p. 138, 4 in Kayser, combined with Lys. 6, 4. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 153, n. 1, places this sacrifice on the 14th, after the arrival of the *ιερά*.

*Boedromion* 16. "Αλαδε μύσται (or ἄλαδε ἔλασις). The *ιερεῖα δεῦρο* were performed on either the 16th or 17th. It was on the 16th that Chabrias used to distribute wine in commemoration of his victory at Naxos (376 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> No decree of this day is extant.

*Boedromion* 17. Ἱερεῖα δεῦρο (?). The Epidauria. The liturgical calendar *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1367, of Hadrianic date, which may have pertained to some γένος or other society concerned with cult,<sup>2</sup> specifies a sacrifice of a pig to Demeter and Kore: Δήμητρι Κόρη δέλφακα ἀννπερθέως. The sacrifice of a pig was purificatory, and the word ἀννπερθέως apparently means that the sacrifice could not be postponed:<sup>3</sup> the calendar of the Mysteries was rigidly fixed. Graindor urges that the Epidauria should fall on this day, rather than on the 18th, which has also been considered possible. No decree from the 17th is extant, whereas there are four from the 18th. This consideration may reinforce Graindor's argument. During the Epidauria, when the Basileus conducted a πομπή in honor of Asklepios, the μύσται remained in their homes.<sup>4</sup> The ceremonies may not have lasted all day: there *may* have been time for public meetings. It seems highly probable, however, that the day of the Epidauria was a business holiday, which therefore should fall on the 17th.

*Boedromion* 18. Four decrees passed by the Ekklesia are extant from this day.<sup>5</sup>

It is notable that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1367, mentioned above, calls for a sacrifice by the special group which set up that calendar, of fruits of the season to Dionysos. The conflict may be taken to mean a connection with the cult of Demeter and Kore (thus Graindor), or it may be that the events of the 18th, which permitted regular public assemblies, had no large general importance.<sup>6</sup>

*Boedromion* 19. No extant decree is dated on this day. Apparently specifying part of the main πομπή, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078 of ca. 210/1 A.D. provides that the ephebes are to accompany the *ιερά* to Eleusis on

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Phoc.*, 6; Polyaeus 3, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo (1934), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Graindor, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 56, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657, 787; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 84; *Hesperia* V (1936), no. 14, p. 419. In 657 the meeting is an ἐκκλησία κυρία, but not in 787. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 84 is of ca. 40/2 A.D.; the others are of the third century B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 72 and Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 153, n. 6.



Boedromion 19.<sup>1</sup> In the third century after Christ, therefore, this was an official holiday, the day of the great procession. It might be conceived that in Roman times the πομπή, formerly held on the 20th, was moved forward a day. The absence of decrees, though it may be fortuitous, points rather to the conclusion that in Hellenistic times as well the 19th was the day of the procession. It is also conceivable but unlikely that the ephebes were sent ahead with certain *ιερά* to Eleusis one day in advance of the main πομπή, to make preparations.

*Boedromion 20.* No extant decree is dated on this day.<sup>2</sup> Three literary references, two of which are in Plutarch, tell us plainly that on the 20th they "lead out" Iakchos or "send him from the city to Eleusis."<sup>3</sup> Influenced by the decree of 210/11 A.D., scholars have

<sup>1</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, in some of his very last pages, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, Berlin (1931-1932), II, p. 479, etc., has made full use of this document.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 799 is doubtfully assigned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, to this day, but Meritt has read and restored it otherwise (*Hesperia* IV [1935], p. 550). The day is certainly not the twentieth, although the crucial letter, at the end of line 2, should be dotted as very doubtful. In line 6 one blank space, for punctuation, should follow the formula of passage, so that 13 letters are missing from the name of the spokesman. A new line 8 reads [-----<sup>42</sup>-----]  $\text{N} \text{I} \text{N} \text{I} \text{N} \text{I}$  [ . . <sup>5</sup> . . ]. Hence the decree did not concern ephebes or prytaneis. The basis of the reconstruction is sound, but the interspaces in the invocation are of 16, not 17, letter-spaces ( $1 + 16 + 1 + 16 + 1 + 16 + 1 = 52$ ).

The stele also provides an archaeological curiosity. A floral ornament, apparently a rose, is carved in repoussé in the exact centre of the space between line 2 and the moulding, i.e., between the E and O of ΘΕΟΙ. The flower is 0.04 m. in height, 0.05 m. in breadth, and doubtless was painted red. The fact that line 2, instead of being inscribed close to the invocation, was moved down to accommodate the flower proves that the flower was part of the original design. Probably it was a symbol. Rhodes used a *type parlante* on her coins, and [τῶν 'Ρο]δίων could be restored in line 8; but this is a mere guess. No other stele known to me has any sort of carved decoration, except crowns, in the inscribed part of the face of the stele.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Camill.* 19: οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν τῶν μυστηρίων καιρὸν αὐτοῖς Θῆβαι τε κατεσκάφησαν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρουρὰν Ἀθηναῖοι Μακεδόνων ἐδέξαντο περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος, ἣ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξάγουσιν. *Phoc.* 28: εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρὰ Βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσέχθη μυστηρίων ὄντων, ἣ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξ ἄστεος Ἐλευσινάδε πέμπουσιν. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 324: μία τῶν μυστηρίων ἐστὶν ἡ εἰκάς, ἐν ἣ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξάγουσι. References from A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 207, n. 3.



agreed that this means arrival in Eleusis after the sundown which ended the 19th.<sup>1</sup>

This strains the literal meaning of ἐξάγουσι, which refers properly to the point of departure, not of arrival; and the whole passage from the *Life of Phocion*, when interpreted without preconception, seems to indicate that the procession itself was disturbed by the Macedonian seizure of Munychia. Now the present theory, which "harmonizes" the figures 19 and 20, would have the procession already near or in Eleusis at the end (sundown) of the 19th. The absence at present of decrees dated on the 19th suggests that the 19th was a holiday, and consequently that the procession really was on the 19th, as the decree of 210/11 A.D. prescribes. The difficulties in Plutarch can only be overcome, however, by supposing that his two passages are carelessly expressed. Carelessly, not ignorantly: Plutarch would have precise knowledge on such a point.<sup>2</sup>

*Boedromion 21.* No extant decree is dated on this, presumably a principal day of the celebration, which took place after sundown.

*Boedromion 22.* A meeting of an otherwise unknown βουλὴ ἱερά was held evidently on Boedromion 22 in the year 117/8 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> as is recorded by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072. The date is ὀγδόη μετ' εἰκάδα, and Meritt shows<sup>4</sup> that the count was backward.<sup>5</sup> This would be troublesome<sup>6</sup> were it not

<sup>1</sup> Thus Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 72, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus tells us that very shortly (apparently one or two days) before the battle of Salamis, Dikaïos, one of the exiles, and Demaratos, the former king of Sparta, saw a great cloud of dust move out from the Thriasian plain to Salamis, and they heard the mystic chant with which Iakchos was wont to be led out. Plutarch has two dates for the battle itself, Mounichion 16 and Boedromion 20. The two have been harmonized (Munro in *C.A.H.*, IV, pp. 304, 313); for our purposes Boedromion 20 is of some interest in connection with the passage in Herodotus. Assuming that the central days of the Mysteries were fixed and unchanging throughout antiquity, it would seem that the phenomena were observed at twilight on Boedromion 19/20, and that the battle occurred on the following day, the 20th. This conclusion, be it noted, rests on numerous hypotheses.

<sup>3</sup> For the date, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo (1934), p. 86, and references.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia* IV (1935), p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> The date might be Boedromion 23 if one of the first two prytaneis had 34 instead of 33 days. The proper normal number, 32, was exceeded in any case.

<sup>6</sup> In fact Mommsen was led to reject the dating by month entirely, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 235, n. 1.

that Keil and Graindor<sup>1</sup> have proved that the meeting (line 3) took place not in the Eleusinion (at Athens) but at Eleusis itself, ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι. This is quite understandable, and it increases the presumption that the 21st was in every period the central and fixed day of the celebration. Otherwise no extant decree is dated on the 22nd.

*Boedromion 23.* No extant decree is dated on this day. The celebration may have continued into the evening.<sup>2</sup>

*Boedromion 24.* The return trip to Athens was made on the 23rd or 24th. A law attributed to Solon provided that the first session of the Boule after the Mysteries should be held in the Eleusinion.<sup>3</sup> This gave Koehler his basis for restoring ἐν τῷ[ι Ἐλευσινίῳ] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, line 4. We have seen that no other known place of meeting of the Boule can be restored in that line. Hence the day of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, Βοηδρομιῶνος τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας was the first day after the Mysteries, and the problem is to determine the meaning of μετ' εἰκάδας.

The accepted meaning was formerly 'after the twentieth,' but there was evidence to show that the phrase denoted, in some cases at least, backward reckoning from the end of the month. An inscription discovered in the Agora in 1933 demonstrated that the backward count was used, and a full-length study by Meritt has shown that in some 17 known instances the count was backward. There remain, nevertheless, four stubborn instances in which the count is forward from the twentieth.<sup>4</sup> For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, therefore, the possibilities are Boedromion 27 or 26 (backward count), or 24 (forward count). Since it is unlikely that the Boule should have held no session for as long as seven days, the 24th is the more likely date, but epigraphically the equation *can* be restored to fit all the possibilities, and another inscription must decide the question.

<sup>1</sup> P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Gand (1924), p. 28, who attributes the reading to Keil. O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothraki*, Berlin (1892), p. 84, suspected that this was the correct version.

<sup>2</sup> Foucart, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Andocides, *De Myst.* III: ἡ βουλὴ καθεδεῖσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον ὃς κελεύει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia* IV (1935), pp. 525-561; summary on p. 561. Other aspects of the inscription are discussed below, pp. 168 ff.

The first decree of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848 was dated to this day by Meritt<sup>1</sup> merely for the purpose of showing one possible restoration of the calendar formula in lines 2-4. Study of the period of the Mysteries shows that this is in fact the only possible day.<sup>2</sup> It follows, since the first decree of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848 was passed by the Demos, that the whole body of citizens, and not just the *bouleutai* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794), had returned to Athens in time for a session on the 24th.<sup>3</sup>

A third decree from the 24th is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 837 of 227/6, a decree of the Demos, subject unknown.<sup>4</sup> Two further possibilities are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, a decree in honor of ephebes,<sup>5</sup> and, very doubtfully, yet another of the same subject, recently assembled from Agora and other fragments.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia* IV (1935), 557.

<sup>2</sup> From the usual arithmetical computation, Meritt infers that the count with μετ' εικάδας was forward. The present study reinforces this by a second proof, for if the second equation were to be taken as giving backward count, then the first decree, which was passed at least three days before the second, would have to be dated Boedromion 21 (or 20). For the full text of the decree see Dow, *Hesperia*, Supplement I (1937), pp. 81-83.

<sup>3</sup> It is notable that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, which, as we now see, must date from the 24th, provides a new instance of forward count (the fifth known instance) which is from a year, 216/5, only four years removed from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848 of 212/1 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1935), p. 557.

<sup>5</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1935), p. 549.

<sup>6</sup> Dow, *Hesperia* IV (1935), pp. 71-81, lines 35-36.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 846 of 215/4 B.C. shows the style of the decrees mentioning Hagnias, but in degenerate form. The lettering is regular enough so that, for instance, the mason cannot have intended a symmetrical disposition of [ἔδοξεν τεῖ] β[ουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ], a restoration which might otherwise be favored by a "new" letter (B or P) which appears clearly in line 7, midway beneath the O and I of line 6. The scheme is therefore similar to that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794:

215/4

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 846

Not stoichedon, ca. 40½

[Ἐπὶ Διοκλέου]ς ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς - - - <sup>c. 10</sup> - - - τρίτης]  
 [πρυτανείας] ἥι Ἀριστοφάν[ης Στρατοκλέους Κειριάδης]  
 [ἐγγραμμάτεν]ε[ν]· Βοηδρομιῶ[νος - - - - - <sup>c. 19</sup> - - - - -]  
 [- <sup>c. 5</sup> - τῆς πρ]υτανείας· [ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳι ? τῶν]  
 [προέδρων ἐπε]ψήφισεν [- - - - - <sup>c. 23</sup> - - - - -]  
 [καὶ συμπρόεδρ]οι· <sup>vvvv</sup> [ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ <sup>vv</sup>]  
 [- - - <sup>c. 12</sup> - - - - -] ≡ [- - - - - εἶπεν, κτλ.]

The ἔδοξεν-clause was about one space off centre. Since the days of the prytany and of the month must have nearly corresponded, the decree was passed before the

Clearly the 24th was the first day of business after the Mysteries.

*Boedromion 25.* In 40/2 A.D., as we learn from *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 83, line 2, the Council of the *Areopagos* met at *Eleusis* on Boedromion πέμπη ἀπίόντος. The day may equally have been the 26th. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665 may have been passed on this day, but the 24th and 26th are also possible. No extant decree is positively dated on the 25th.

*Boedromion 26.* *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 83 may have been passed on the 26th, instead of on the 25th. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665 may have been passed on the 26th, instead of on the 24th or 25th. No extant decree is positively dated on the 26th.

*Boedromion 27.* We have seen from the first decree of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848 that on Boedromion 24 of the year 212/1 B.C. the *Ekklesia* held a meeting. From the second decree of the same inscription it is now established that the *Boule* met three days later, on the 27th, in the *Bouleuterion* and adjourned to the *Eleusinion*, βουλή ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐκ] τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. It is unthinkable that this meeting on the 27th was the first session of the *Boule* after the Mysteries. The reason for the adjournment to the *Eleusinion* is not obvious; possibly there was some unfinished business connected with the recent Mysteries.

*Summary.* The evidence viewed as a whole points to certain further conclusions.

(1) The inscriptions which show that the 24th was the first day of business after the Mysteries all date from the third century B.C. From no period, however, is there evidence which suggests any modification of the calendar in this respect, except two items of Roman date. In 117/8 A.D. there was a βουλή ἱερά at Eleusis on the 22nd or 23rd. In 40/2 A.D. the Council of the *Areopagos* was still at Eleusis on the 25th or 26th. From the latter it might be argued that the period of the Mysteries had been extended a day or two. The modifications made in Roman times were apparently slight, and the evidence as a whole suggests that the calendar of the Mysteries remained substantially the same from the establishment of that calendar to the end of antiquity. Only the data for the precise day of the main πομπή present difficulties.

twentieth, for the space does not permit dates after that. Hence it appears that the measure was not passed by the *Boule* sitting in the *Eleusinion*, a restoration otherwise possible.



(2) Since the great majority of the extant decrees are decrees passed by the Ekklesia, the absence of decrees from Boedromion 13, 15, 16, and 17 does not prove that the Boule was not in session on those days. On the 13th the Boule probably did regularly hold a meeting; as to the 15th, 16th, and especially the 17th, the probability is that these days were considered holidays under the Solonian law, and that no meetings were held.

(3) The evidence at present points to comparatively frequent meetings of the Ekklesia on Boedromion 18 and 24. A practical reason may be suggested for believing that this evidence does not mislead us. On the 18th the city was doubtless full of citizens who had come up from the country demes to join the procession to Eleusis on the 19th. A meeting on one of the preceding days, say on the 16th or 17th, would be inconvenient for such citizens; whereas a meeting on the 18th, and also, for the same reason, on the 24th, would be opportune. Hence the paucity of decrees of the 25th, 26th, and 27th.

(4) The Homeric Hymn to Demeter, lines 47 ff., ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ χθόνα πότνια Δῆω, κτλ., was thought by Roscher and others to be proof of a nine-day fast (νηστεία) by devout μύσται. This notion is discussed and rejected in recent studies.<sup>1</sup> At first thought the present study might seem to rehabilitate the old theory. Since a fast might continue through the 18th, when legislative business had to intrude into the holiday period, the full duration of the period was of exactly nine days (15th-23rd). It is by no means impossible that this number of days was originally apportioned to the Mysteries in obedience to the tradition about the νηστεία of Demeter.<sup>2</sup> During the period of nine days, devout *mystai* may have abstained from certain foods.<sup>3</sup> Complete

<sup>1</sup> See especially the ed. of the Homeric Hymns by T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday (and E. E. Sikes), Oxford (1936), pp. 135-136.

<sup>2</sup> The number nine is suspect as being a "round" number, but a fast of nine days was definitely associated with the Thesmophoria. Allen, etc., *ibid.*, reject Nilsson's theory (*Griech. Feste*, p. 321) that this referred to the Eleusinian Mysteries, but the determination of the duration of the Mysteries suggests that Nilsson may have been right. The Thesmophoria originally and commonly, however, seem to have lasted only three days; W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford (1928), p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Those which are discussed in P. R. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern* (Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten, XXI, 1), Giessen (1929), pp. 77-78, would apply to this nine-day period.



abstinence for the nine days in question is still, of course, an impossible theory. There is nothing but the inference from the Homeric Hymn to support it, whereas the distribution of wine by Chabrias on the 16th, not before instanced in this connection, is sufficient to show that such abstinence was not even formally observed. The *νηστεία* proper began sometime after the 16th — doubtless after the 18th — and may have lasted only a day or so.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of wine by Chabrias, furthermore, is proof that wine should not be included in the list of things prohibited during the general period of the Mysteries.<sup>2</sup>

(5) The conspicuous fact in any case is that in the midst of the holidays, on the 18th, meetings were held. The explanation is doubtless that in a state where much routine business had to be settled in legislative bodies, the Boule could not adjourn for as long as nine days.

#### THE RE-FOUNDATION OF THE LYKAIA

ca. 215 B.C.

Not *stoichedon* ca. 54

	[- - - - - καὶ συμπρόεδροι]	
	Vacat [ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι	Vacat]
Fragment	. . . υλος Κλέων[ος - <sup>c. 10</sup> - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ, προτερόν τε τοῦ	
a	δήμου τοῦ]	
= I.G., II <sup>2</sup> ,	Μεγαλοπολιτῶν [ἀποστείλαντος θεωροὺς τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλον-	
993	τας τὸν ἀγῶνα]	
5	τῶν Λυκαίων στεφαν[ίτην γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἰσολύμπιον,	
	(?) - <sup>c. 1</sup> - ὁ δὲ]	
	μος εὐχαριστεῖν αὐ[τῶι προαιρούμενος ἐψηφίσατο (?) - <sup>c. 5</sup> -	
	ἀποδέχεσθαι]	
	τε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθάπε[ρ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ θεωροὶ στεφανίτην	
	(?) - <sup>c. 6</sup> - καὶ]	
	ἀποστέλλειν θεωρο[ὺς εἰς τὰ Λύκαια (?) τοὺς συνθύσοντας	
	τὴν θυσίαν]	
	καὶ νῦν δὲ πάλιν ἀπέσ[ταλκεν πρέσβεις (?) - - - - -	
	οἷ]	

<sup>1</sup> Arbesmann, *op. cit.* Cf. Allen, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra*, Arbesmann, *loc. cit.*, again an inference from the story of Demeter.

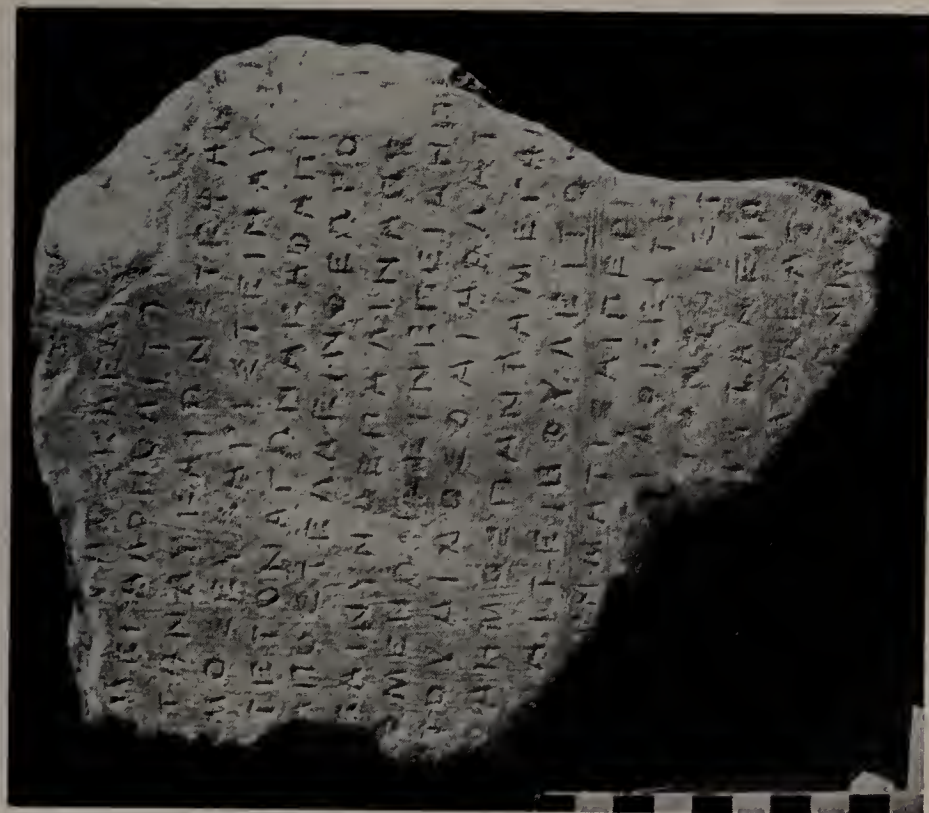


Figure 2. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 993, Fragment a.



Figure 3. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 993, Fragment b.



10 ομένων δειν, ἐπειδὴ π[ατριόν ἐστιν - - - - -  
περι (?)]  
τοῦ διδοσθαι ἄθλα το[ῖς νικῶσιν τῶν πολιτῶν ἃ καὶ τοῖς τὰ  
'Ολύμπια νικῶσιν]  
ὁ δῆμος πάντα Μεγαλ[οπολιτ - - - - -  
δεδό]  
[χ]θαι τεῖ βουλευῖ τοῦ[ς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
ἐκκλησί]  
[αν χ]ρηματίσαι περὶ τ[ούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς  
βουλῆς εἰς τὸν]  
15 [δῆμον ὅτ]ι δοκεῖ τε[ῖ βουλῇ - - - - -  
- -]  
[. . .<sup>c. 7½</sup>. . .] τὸν τοῖς τ[- - - - -  
- - - - -]  
[. . .<sup>c. 6½</sup>. . . π]ρυτανείω[ι - - - - -  
- - - - -]  
[. . .<sup>c. 7½</sup>. . .]μον κατ[- - - - -  
- - τοῖς]  
[πρέσβεις (?) τ]ῶν Με[γαλοπολιτῶν - - - - -  
- - - - -]

Fragment

b

= E.M. 5579

In a gold wreath:

20 [ὁ δῆμος]  
[ἡ βουλῇ]  
[τοὺς πρέσβεις (?)]  
[τῶν] Μεγ[αλο]  
[π]ολιτῶν

Robert, who has done most toward restoring the text, ventures no new date.<sup>1</sup> It is the object of this study to do so.

<sup>1</sup> For convenience I give the former editions. Hauvette-Besnault, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, VIII (1884), 472; *I.G.*, II, 5, 451e (Koehler dated it, by letter forms presumably, "not much earlier than the middle of the second century"); Kirchner and Hiller in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, made minor improvements; Robert, *B.C.H.*, L (1926), pp. 495-496, made extensive restorations. The inscription is totally neglected by Scherling in *P.W.K.*, by Hiller in *P.W.K.* and *I.G.*, V, 2, and by Immerwahr in *Kulte* (full references below). Scherling also omits reference to Klee, *Agone*.

The spacing of the preserved letters is highly regular (Fig. 2). Line 13, as restored, has fifty-three and a half; line 14 has fifty-four; and Robert's proposal for line 11 (a much less certain formula, to be sure) has fifty-five. Hence the restorations proposed for lines 5, 6, and 7 by Robert are probably to be supplemented, or altered, to allow more letters, as I have indicated. The other differences from the texts by Robert and Kirchner do not call for comment. In line 17, probably a banquet for the ambassadors in the Prytaneion is mentioned.

Fragment b (Fig. 3), with part of the cuttings to indicate a gold crown,<sup>1</sup> is shown by the style of the lettering to belong to the stone which gives us *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 993. Marble (in both pieces yellowish with grey-blue veins) and text make the identification certain.

Above the preserved part of line 3 there is a blank space reaching to the broken edge of the stone. This might seem to indicate that the first of two decrees was inscribed above, followed by a blank space, and then by a (preserved) second decree. The restoration, in that case, should omit lines 1 and 2; but then the preamble, cut down to include only the spokesman, would be impossibly brief even in this period, when preambles were often curtailed in second decrees. The height of the blank space is less than the height of one line plus two interspaces: hence line 1 need not appear on the preserved fragment. In short, the decree had a regular preamble, with the clause of passage (line 2) centred. There may have been a (lost) decree above; it may have dealt with the first embassy (line 8). In any case the blank space above line 3 is not evidence for or against a lost decree.<sup>2</sup>

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The stone (*Epigraphical Museum* [Athens], no. 7580 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 993) is recorded in the inventory of the Museum as though it came from the Acropolis, and it was assigned a number in the old catalogue of inscriptions from the Acropolis. Koehler was not convinced that it did come from there, and Kirchner repeats his "*ut videtur*." Study of the places of erecting stelae suggests no doubt that this stele was in fact set up on the Acropolis. The identification of fragment b, also recorded in the Acropolis Catalogue, confirms this conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> "Greek Crowns and Crown Inscriptions" were dealt with in an article by G. B. Hussey in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, V, 1886-1890 (publ. Boston, 1892), pp. 135-161; for gold crowns see pp. 143-145.

<sup>2</sup> The surface of the stone at lines 14-19 shows traces of a toothed chisel, as if the whole had been erased. No traces of earlier letters have been detected, and the chisel marks seem to attest merely careless preparation of the surface.



The lettering is patently in the 'disjointed' style of 229-*ca.* 206 B.C. (above, p. 105).<sup>1</sup> The date hitherto accepted, namely *ante med. s. II*, gave the decree no historical significance either for Megalopolis or for Athens. Properly dated, the decree has meaning for both.

We should first consider the history of Megalopolis in relation especially to the Lykaia. The Lykaia itself was reputed older than any Greek festival except the Eleusinia.<sup>2</sup> Evidence is lacking, but doubtless the Lykaia was at an early time primarily a festival of the Arcadian *ethnos*. When Megalopolis was founded, in 370/69, the festival must have come at once under the more or less direct control of the new city,<sup>3</sup> as the decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 993 would lead one to suppose. The festival, for aught we know, may have been reorganized at that time; our task is to seek a probable date of reorganization in the latter half of the third century.<sup>4</sup> In view of the well-known lapse of time between the inception of the Leukophryena at Magnesia and its general acceptance, we might consider dates as early as about 250 B.C. for the revival of the Lykaia. Nothing really excludes a re-founding under one of the tyrants, Aristodamos or Lydiades, of that period; or at the time (235) when Megalopolis joined the Achaean League. Certainly the event did not take place in the 220's unless very soon before 220; for in 227 we have the battle of Mt. Lykaeos in which Lydiades was killed, and in the fall of 223 Cleomenes III took and "destroyed" Megalopolis.

The city was soon re-inhabited and took on a new lease of life, which meant, however, a new series of quarrels between rich and poor. These quarrels were exacerbated by a general decline in wealth consequent

<sup>1</sup> Fragment b, the newly identified piece, gives us the first gold wreath in any inscription of the 'disjointed' style. The wreath is cut in a somewhat careless manner quite in harmony with the lettering.

<sup>2</sup> Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 8-10; Scherling in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyc.*, s.v., with references.

<sup>3</sup> A *peribolos* in the Agora was consecrated to Lykaian Zeus (Paus. 8, 30, 8) in 370/69 B.C. as part of the program of cementing bonds of union between the towns then combined to form Megalopolis; M. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, Eng. trans., Oxford (1925), p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> That the Lykaia flourished in the meantime is shown by *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 314, which is involved in the problem whether the festival was penteteric, or, as is claimed by T. Klee, *Zur gesch. d. gym. Agone*, Leipzig-Berlin (1918), pp. 66 f., trieteric; see Hiller, *P.W.K.*, XVI, 135 and references.

upon the destruction. The worst trouble of all, Polybius (5, 93) tells us, arose over a law code drawn up by the Peripatetic philosopher Prytanis,<sup>1</sup> whom Antigonus had sent from Athens for the purpose. A new agreement was prompted in 217 by Aratus, who seems to have given the work to a native, Kerkidas.<sup>2</sup> The years 222–217, therefore, were a time of new beginnings. During the years just preceding, the Lykaia may well have been suspended. A re-foundation soon thereafter is more likely than at any other time. The reduced circumstances of the citizens might be mentioned as an objection to this view. Certainly it is improbable that extensive building operations, as in contemporary Magnesia, accompanied the new festival:<sup>3</sup> but there was no need for that, because there was, as far as we know, no destruction of the few and simple buildings at Lykaion. A festival, moreover, was in part a commercial venture, so that the impoverished citizens stood to gain. There was also civil strife, but we do not know that it was serious enough to interfere. On the whole, the re-establishment of the Lykaia about 220 B.C., or more probably after Kerkidas and Aratus had calmed the strife in 217, seems reasonable. The battle of Sellasia must have produced those feelings both of exultation and of security which might well be expressed by the renewal of the ancient national *ἀγών*.<sup>4</sup>

These reasonings from the style of the letters, and from mere historical likelihoods, are confirmed by a passage in Polybius (5, 106). In 217 B.C. a conference at Naupaktos made peace between the Achaeans and Philip, and the Aetolians. Thus relieved of war and the danger of war, the Achaeans, and all the rest of Peloponnesus, went happily to work repairing the material damages, not forgetting piously to revive

<sup>1</sup> The same Prytanis who is mentioned below, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz., *s.v.* *plus* Polybius, *loc. cit.*; Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 762 and bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kourouniotes, the excavator, informs me that precise dates were not determinable for many of the buildings. For complete references to his reports, see *I.G.*, V, II, p. 141. — The statue base *I.G.*, IV, 428 probably celebrates victories at the Lykaia soon after 217 (if we may date it according to the commentary on *I.G.*, IV, 427).

<sup>4</sup> Its national character is well illustrated by the fact that Arcadian victors of c. 315 suppressed their demotics and were known each as *Ἀρκάς* (e.g., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 314; Scherling in *P.W.K.*, *s.v.* *Lykaia*).

many a cult practice which had been of necessity neglected, — 'Αχαιοὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς θᾶπτον ἀπέθεντο τὸν πόλεμον, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι Τιμόξενον, ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὰ σφέτερα νόμιμα καὶ τὰς διαγωγάς, ἅμ' 'Αχαιοῖς δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις αἱ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον, ἀνεκτῶντο μὲν τοὺς ἰδίους βίους, ἐθεράπευον δὲ τὴν χώραν, ἀνενοῦντο δὲ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς παρ' ἐκάστοις ὑπάρχοντα νόμιμα. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσανεὶ λήθην συνέβαινε γεγονέναι παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν προγεγονότων πολέμων. Polybius indubitably had in mind, among others, the ancient festival of his native city.

The lettering of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 993 should not be dated much later than 215. We may conceive that arrangements were made at Megalopolis and Lykaion soon after the peace of Naupaktos; that the official invitation was taken promptly by a suitable embassy to Athens, the city of greatest dignity in all Greece, whose acceptance would be most helpful, and where, as we have seen, Megalopolis already had a powerful friend in Prytanis the Peripatetic; that the Athenians were not slow to accept, and presently recorded on stone the one or more decrees which dealt with the invitation. In the case of the re-founded Lykaia, there was certainly no long delay between the occasion and the re-founding, or between the re-founding and the acceptance of at least this one invitation. One may contrast the Lykaia in this respect with the earlier Soteria at Delphi and with the contemporary Leukophryena at Magnesia.

On their part, the Athenians had good reason for accepting. They were deeply committed to friendship with Egypt, but neutrality was the real aim of Eurykleides and Mikion. Aratus had done his best to break down this policy. He had contributed twenty talents toward getting rid of the Macedonian garrison, that is, toward freedom, in 229; though he was ill and had to be carried, he brought the money himself. He had visited Athens again in 228 (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 206-207). Against strong popular pressure in favor of joining the Achaean League, Eurykleides and Mikion definitely rebuffed Aratus and his invitation. The act rankled in the hearts of all adherents of the Achaean League, and finally produced the passage in Polybius of which we have quoted the first part. With pride he pauses to dwell on the piety and fighting spirit of his race; then, abruptly juxtaposing the

facts without any explicit phrase of contrast, he tells how the Athenian leaders misled their people into a grovelling policy of peace at any price. Prompt acceptance of the Lykaia was logical for Athens, to mollify the Achaeans, but in reality it was a mere gesture. Either the Achaeans were not impressed, or Polybius, knowing the fact, did not trouble to mention it.

## CHRYSEIS

### A STUDY OF THE EVIDENCE IN REGARD TO THE MOTHER OF PHILIP V

BY STERLING DOW AND CHARLES FARWELL EDSON, JR.

THE present study had a two-fold origin, historical and epigraphical.<sup>1</sup> The literary sources, we suspected, had been doubted, when they should have been believed; whereas the published texts of the Athenian inscriptions had been accepted, but ought to have been doubted.

The contents may be briefly indicated. The interpretation of the Athenian inscriptions has hitherto been biased by the theory that each Macedonian king had his own unvarying official form of designation. Hence the first task is to investigate usage outside Athens (Part I, summarized on p. 139).<sup>2</sup> This is the first published

NOTE. — For the opportunity to work in Athens, Mr. Dow is indebted to a Woodberry Lowery Fellowship, Mr. Edson to a Sheldon Fellowship, both awarded by Harvard University. The collaborators are jointly responsible for the whole study. Most of Parts I, III, and IV is by Mr. Edson; of Part II, by Mr. Dow. The authors wish to thank Professor W. S. Ferguson for contributing suggestions particularly to Part IV.

<sup>1</sup> Tarn was the first student of the problem, and we are under very great obligations to his work, although ultimately we found ourselves in disagreement. He has been vigorously supported by Fine, and their view, which Beloch and Dinsmoor rejected, has been accepted as "definitively proved" by P. Treves. In *C. A. H.* VII, p. 751, Tarn has re-stated his conclusion, which appears also in another standard work, M. Cary's *History of the Greek World from 323 to 146* (London, 1932), p. 159, n. 2. Our discussion is intended to treat all the evidence *de novo*, postponing consideration of variant interpretations to pp. 158 ff.

For the abbreviations see the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 865, or W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. xi-xii.

<sup>2</sup> Each of the four Parts, though based on its predecessor, is intended to be intelligible if read by itself.



systematic research on 'royal style.' The Athenian inscriptions are next examined (Part II, beginning on p. 140, summarized on p. 148). If in every instance they have yielded new findings, this is due partly to the freer view of royal style to which Part I has led, partly to improvements in making squeezes, and partly to a more accurate understanding of how to deal with inscriptions which are not *stoichedon*, or in which the arrangement, being partially *stoichedon*, has rules of its own. The main result of Parts I and II is to clear the ground for Parts III and IV. A scrutiny of the literary sources shows whether Philip's mother was Queen Phthia or the concubine Chryseis (Part III, p. 149). Here the evidence of names is curious and, we think, telling. Since the literary sources seem to be trustworthy, we have tried to derive from them the sequel, namely a reconstruction of the history of Macedon in the obscure and violent years 229-226 B.C., after Philip's father had died (Part IV, p. 163; chronological table, p. 179). A recently published inscription from the Agora finds its setting here.

## PART I

### THE ROYAL STYLE OF THE ANTIGONID KINGS

By 'royal style' is meant the language by which each successive king was officially designated, both by others and by his own chancery. It will be obvious that if, as has been alleged, each king had his own style, problems of dating and restoring mutilated texts, such as the Athenian inscriptions, would be vastly simplified; even one preserved letter of a formula might determine the entire restoration and the date.

The logical procedure is to classify the material according to its source and purpose. The largest division is between (A) documents which do not emanate from the kings themselves, and (B) those which do.

Antigonus I and Demetrius I are omitted; the first king to be considered is Antigonus Gonatas, because it was during his reign that the dynasty became identified with Macedon.

## A

The first group of documents to be examined may be called "non-royal," that is, documents which emanate not from the kings but from other parties.<sup>1</sup>

(1) *Decrees in honor of an Antigonid king passed by cities under Antigonid rule.*

1. Iolkos.<sup>2</sup>

ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμῳι τῶι Ἰωλκ[ίων - - -  
σιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος ἔν τε τ[ - - -

Arvanitopoulos concludes that the king in whose honor this decree was passed was Antigonus Gonatas. He restores line 1 thus: Ἰωλκ[ίων· ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μακεδόνων βα][σιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος. But this location appears to be quite without precedent.<sup>3</sup> Line 1 probably read as follows: —

ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμῳι τῶι Ἰωλκ[ίων· nomen εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ βα][  
σιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος, κτλ.

There is no reason to suppose that in this inscription the king was otherwise referred to than as βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος.

<sup>1</sup> Incidental references to Antigonid kings in epigraphic texts do not give any indication of the use of a royal style; the king appears merely as, e.g., "King Philip," or, more simply, "the king."

(a) In cities subject to Antigonid rule. Larissa: *I.G.*, IX, ii, 517 (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 543), lines 2, 11, 23, 43, and 47. Chalcis: *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 47 (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 561), line 1. Nisyros: *I.G.*, XII, iii, 91 (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 572), lines 13, 15, and 16. Panamara in Caria: *B.C.H.*, XXVIII (1904), p. 346, no. 2, lines 10–11, as restored by Holleaux on p. 358; *op. cit.*, p. 348, no. 3, lines 11–12 and 16–17.

(b) Independent Cities. Athens (after 229): *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1304, line 5. Lampsacus: Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 591, lines 66 and 67. Cretan Cities: Michel, nos. 55–60. Delphi: Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 636, line 5. These references are intended to be illustrative, not complete.

The few dedications, three in number, by private individuals or groups, to kings or members of the royal family, show only the form, e.g., βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος: *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1098 and 1215 (Delos); *B.C.H.*, XVIII (1894), pp. 416 ff. (Amphipolis).

<sup>2</sup> Béquignon, *B.C.H.*, LIX (1935), pp. 74–5, ll. 1–2. Arvanitopoulos, *Polemon*, I (1929), pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 3055, lines 8–10 (Lebadea) has Ἀ[μ]ύντα[ς] Π[ερ]δ[ί]κ[α] [Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεὺ[ς] καταβ[α]ίν[ου]σιν ἐν τῷ ἄν[τ]ρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαυτῶ ἀνέθηκε - - . But this is merely an entry from a list of dedications and the phrase Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς was probably added primarily as a description and identification of the distinguished dedicator.

2. Athens (263-239). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 793. Decree in honor of Antigonos Gonatas. The preamble of this fragmentary decree is lost. In the preserved text (lines 2 and 13) the king appears as βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος.

3. Panamara in Caria. Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, XXVIII (1904), p. 354. A decree of the *koinon* of the Panamareans in honor of Philip V, about 200 B.C. The king is simply βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος. Lines 8 to 11 may be quoted as they offer the only parallel to the sacrificial formulae employed at Athens on behalf of Antigonid kings: —

— - ἐπεύξασθ[αι δὲ τὸν ἱερέα μετὰ τῆς ἱερεί]  
 ας ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρία[ς τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλίσ]  
 σης καὶ τῶν τέκνων [αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς παρα]  
 στήσαι τὴν θυσίαν τ[ὴν πάτριον. - -

In line 10 τέκνων of course means living children. Philip is known to have had two sons living in 200 B.C., Perseus and Demetrius.

*Summary.* These honorary decrees show only the simple style βασιλεὺς and the king's name. They give no evidence for any distinctive style for particular kings.

(2) *Dedications by cities in honor of Antigonid kings.* All the dedications here included, with the probable exception of the last, are by cities *not under Antigonid rule*.

4. Epidaurus. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 589. Statue Base.

ἀ πόλις τῶν Ἑ[πιδαυρίων βασιλέα]  
 Ἀντίγονον Δ[ημητρίου Μακε]δόνα  
 ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκε[ν ᾧ ἔχων δι]ετέλει  
 εἰς τὰν πόλιν.

It was once held that this inscription should refer to Gonatas,<sup>2</sup> presumably because of the use of Μακεδών, which appears in dedications by Gonatas at Delos (16-19). But, as 5 shows, this argument has no force. διετέλει indicates that the king was dead at the time of the erection of the statue. It therefore becomes clear that the king is Antigonos III, who died shortly after his victory at Sellasia. It was quite appropriate that the

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm ("Attische Urkunden," III Teil, *S.B.W.A.*, CCII [1925], pp. 42 ff.) assigned this decree to Samos on grounds which seem to us doubtful, but which are too lengthy to be argued here.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XXIX (1909), p. 270, n. 39.

Epidaurians should have erected a statue in his memory. No such motive is evident for the erection of a statue of Gonatas after the old king's death. — The omission of βασιλέως before the name of Antigonos' father Demetrius is interesting; the title must have been omitted because Antigonos' father was not king in Macedonia.

5. Epidaurus. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 590 A. Statue Base.

[ἀ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρί]ων ἀνέθη[κε βασιλέα]  
[Φίλιππον βασιλέως] Δημητρ[ίου Μακεδόνα]  
[ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐ]νοίας [τᾶς εἰς τὰν πόλιν].

That the king was Philip V appears from the accompanying epigram (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 590 B). Hiller's restoration is certain; none other is possible. This and the preceding dedication show that the use of Μακεδών cannot be held to be peculiar to Gonatas.

6. Antigoneia-Mantineia. *I.G.*, V, ii, 299. Marble base.

[Βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον βασ]ιλέως Δημητρίου  
[Μακεδόνα ἢ πόλις τὸν σ]ωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

The king here honored is Antigonos III. Polybius (5, 9, 10) states that Antigonos was hailed as Euergetes during his lifetime and Soter after his death. Like 1, therefore, this monument was erected after the death of the king.

In line 2 Hiller restores [ἢ πόλις Ἀντιγονέων τὸν σ]ωτήρα, κτλ. Counting iota as a half space, this gives nineteen letter spaces, only one more than in the same portion of line 1. This restoration, however, omits the definite article τῶν before Ἀντιγονέων. This is without parallel; other examples show only the form ἀ πόλις τῶν Ἀντιγονέων (*I.G.*, V, ii, 268, 307, 309). The addition of τῶν raises the number of letter spaces from nineteen to twenty-two, and thus demands that the left margin of line 2 extend about four letter spaces to the left of that of line 1. It is quite unnecessary to assume such a disarrangement of symmetry. The restoration based on the formula of the two preceding dedications, [Μακεδόνα ἢ πόλις τὸν σ]ωτήρα, κτλ., exactly fills the gap even to the half space.

7. Sicyon. *I.G.*, IV, 427. Block of a marble base.<sup>1</sup>

βασιλέα Φίλ[ι]ππον β[ασιλέος Δαματρίου - - -]  
Θοινίας Τεισικρά[τους - - -]

The base of a statue of Philip V. Earle rightly places this dedication in the early years of Philip's reign, while the young

<sup>1</sup> First published by M. L. Earle, *Classical Review*, VI (1892), pp. 132 ff.



king was still on friendly terms with Aratus. Thoinias is of course the well-known Sicyonian sculptor, not the dedicator. Earle completes line 1 by [Σικυώνιοι ἀνέθεσαν]. Fraenkel in the *Corpus* gives [ὁ δᾶμος]. Unfortunately Earle's description of the stone gives no indication of the relative position of the inscribed lines on the surface of the block, and therefore no restoration can be established. It is possible that another block was originally placed on the top of the one bearing the extant letters. If so one might tentatively suggest: —

[ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Σικυωνίων ἀνέθηκε]  
 βασιλέα Φίλ(ι)ππον β[ασιλέως Δαματρίου Μακεδόνα]  
 Θοινίας Τεισικρά[τους ἐποίησεν.]

The first line of this restoration is of course only *exempli gratia*. One of the two signed bases having Thoinias' complete signature has Σικυώνιος; the other omits it;<sup>1</sup> but in his own city it would hardly be necessary for Thoinias to indicate his nationality. In any case, the extant letters of the Sicyonian dedication are compatible with the formula employed at Epidaurus and Antigoneia.

8. Geronthrae-Laconia. *I.G.*, V, i, 1122. Marble Base.

βασιλέος | Ἀντιγόνου | Σωτήρος

The king is Antigonus III. Polybius (5, 9, 10) states that Antigonus was called Soter by the Lacedaemonians after his death. Like 4 and 6, this monument was erected after the death of Antigonus.

9. Thyatira in Caria. *B.C.H.*, XI (1887), no. 25, p. 104. Inscription carved on the side of a marble, the face of which carried an inscription of at least nine lines, now illegible.

[Βα]σιλέα Φίλιππον | [ἡ βου]λή (καὶ) ὁ δῆμος.

This inscription refers to Philip V and is to be dated about 200 B.C., during the period in which the king controlled Caria.

*Summary.* From these examples (4-9) it appears that the most usual, though not invariable, style employed for dedications in honor of Antigonid kings was βασιλέα nomen βασιλέως nominis patris Μακεδόνα. This style was used for at least two kings, Antigonus III and Philip V, and there is no reason to suppose that it was not the style ordinarily employed. These dedications give no indication of the use of an individual style

<sup>1</sup> E. Loewy, *Inscripfen Griechischer Bildhauer*, nos. 121 and 122 a, pp. 96-97.



peculiar to each or any one of the several kings. All the dedications except the last are by independent cities; therefore it may be suggested that the brevity and comparative informality of 9 may be due to the fact that it is the dedication of a city under Antigonid rule.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Dedications made by constitutionally recognized bodies of the Macedonians.*

10. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1102. Seven fragments of a marble base.

τὸ κοινὸν Μ[ακε]δό[ων]  
 βασιλέα Φί[λιππον βασιλέως]  
 Δημητρίου ἀ[ρετῆς ἔνεκα]  
 καὶ εὐνοίας[ς Ἀπόλλωνι?]

A dedication in honor of Philip V by the koinon of the Macedonians. The style is simply "king Philip, the son of king Demetrius."<sup>2</sup>

11. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1118. (Now lost.)

βασιλ[έα - - -]  
 βασιλ[έως - - -]  
 Ὀρέσται ἀ[ρετῆς ἔνεκα κ]  
 αὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς εἰς αὐτοῦς]  
 Ἀπόλλ[ωνι.]

The king is unknown. The dedication must have been made by the Orestae before they were "liberated" by Rome in 196 B.C. (Polybius, 18, 47, 6), and is therefore to be placed sometime in the latter part of the third century. The manner of reference to the king seems clearly to be the same as in 10.

*Summary.* These are two formal dedications made respectively by the Macedonians themselves and by one of the Macedonian *ethne*. The usage may therefore be supposed to be correct.

*Summary of A.* The examination of the non-royal documents seems clearly to show that in decrees or dedications made by parties subject to Antigonid rule, the style is simply *βασιλεὺς nomen*; the Macedonian dedications on Delos add *βασιλέως nominis patris*.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1074, a dedication of the *demos* of the Delians in honor of Laodice, the wife of Perseus, has not been included, as it is not a dedication in honor of a king. Perseus appears merely as *βασιλέως Περσέως*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1103 and 1104 are small fragments of similar dedications.

Dedications made by independent cities seem usually, but not always, to show the style βασιλεὺς *nomen* βασιλέως *nominis patris* Μακεδών. There exists, to be sure, no decree in honor of an Antigonid king passed by a city not under Antigonid rule, and only one dedication made by a subject city. Nevertheless the styles employed to designate the king seem to fall into two divisions: (I) the simple style, e.g., merely βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος with or without the title and name of the father in the genitive, appears to be limited to areas subject to Antigonid rule, while (II) what may be called the full style — the title and name of the king followed by the title and name of his father and then the adjective Μακεδών — occurs only in independent areas. This use of Μακεδών is precisely what one would expect. The evidence, though less full than one would wish, clearly points in the right direction.

## B

We may now turn to the “royal documents,” that is, documents emanating from the kings themselves.

(1) *Royal letters*.<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to examine the royal letters individually; they all show the same formula, βασιλεὺς *nomen* τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν. It is important to note that all the preserved letters of the Antigonid kings from the time of Gonatas have to do only with matters of internal administration; they are examples of administrative, not diplomatic, correspondence.<sup>2</sup> No letter of an Antigonid king of Macedonia to an independent power has yet come to light.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The two letters of Philip V to Larissa (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 543); his letter to Abae (*ibid.*, 552); and his letter to Nisyros (*ibid.*, 572). Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 459 is a letter of Demetrius II as Crown Prince and hence he appears simply as Demetrius. A letter of an Antigonid king is embedded in *I.G.*, XII, 5, 570 B, lines 4-9: Poiessa in Ceos; lines 4 to 5 are surely to be restored [- - - βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος] | [Ἱοιη]σσίῳ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [χαίρειν] |.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934), p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> The dating of royal documents is usually given merely by the number of the year and the month. There are three examples of the longer style of dating, two from cities not subject to Antigonid rule, Beroea (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 459, line 1) and Panamara in Caria (*B.C.H.*, XXVIII [1904], p. 346, no. 2, lines 1-3), and one from

(2) *Treaties with foreign states.*

12. Demetrius II and Gortyn. 237/6 B.C. *A.J.A.* (Second Series), I (1897), pp. 188 ff., no. 17.

The king appears only as "King Demetrius" (lines 6, 12, and 14).

13. Antigonos (II or III?) and Eleutherna. *A.J.A.* (First Series), XI (1896), pp. 582 ff., no. 67.

This broken stele contained only the latter portion of the text of the treaty; the first part of the text, including the heading, was on another stele now lost. Line 3 has [- - -] 'Αντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόν[- - -]; Tarn has argued that this is the royal style of Antigonos III, as in the Sellasia dedication (20), and hence that the king is Antigonos III.<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the fragmentary text, however, shows no recurrence of this phrase, and one can hardly say more than that in this particular clause the Macedonians were included as well as the king. In lines 5-6 the parties on the Macedonian side seem to be King Antigonos, his ἑγγονοι, and the Macedonians. This text gives no evidence for the use of a set style.

14. Antigonos (II or III?). Collitz, *S.G.D.I.*, 5043.

As in 13 line 5, so in this fragmentary treaty, there appear (lines 13 and 19) the king, his ἑγγονοι, and the Macedonians. Otherwise the king appears only as "King Antigonos" or on occasion (line 12) simply "Antigonos."

15. Philip V and Lysimacheia. c. 204 B.C. G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1915), no. 1, pp. 2 ff.

The king appears only as "King Philip" (frag. A, lines 4, 5, and 9; frag. B, line 3).

Unfortunately these treaties are, in different degrees, fragmentary. It is the more notable that they do not give any evidence for the use of a royal style peculiar to all or any of the kings.

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an independent city, Gortyn in Crete (see p. 135, no. 12 below). In Beroea the date runs βασιλείοντος Ἀντιγόνου ἔτους λ καὶ ε; in Panamara βασιλείοντος Φιλίππου | ἔτους τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστο[ῷ] | Ξανδικοῦ ἐβδόμη; in Gortyn βασιλείοντος Δημ[ητρίου βασι]|[λέως Ἀν]τιγόνου ἔτους τρίτου. In this instance also it is interesting to observe that the dating formula of external origin is more elaborate than in the two examples from the Antigonid domains.

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.*, XXIX (1909), p. 270, n. 39; *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 471.

(3) The last and most important class of the "royal documents" is the *dedications of Antigonid kings*. All these monuments occur *in territories independent of Antigonid rule*, and all save the last are from Delos.

#### ANTIGONUS GONATAS

16. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1096.

[Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονο]ς βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μα[κεδών]  
[τοὺς ἐάν]του προγόνους Ἀπόλλωνι.

Inscription on the base of the monument erected by Gonatas in honor of his ancestors.

17. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1095.

[Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος βασιλέως Δη]μητρίου Μακε[δών Ἀπόλλω]νι

Inscription on the epistyle blocks of the Portico of Antigonus Gonatas.

18. Delos. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos*, "Comptes des Hiéropes" (Paris, 1926), no. 298 A, lines 86-87. Cf. also no. 372 B, line 21.

[- - ἄλλας φιάλας ἐπιγραφὴν ἐχοῦ]σας· βασι[λ]εὺς Ἀν[τί]-  
[γονος βασιλέ]ως Δημητρίου Μ[ακεδών Πάνι - - -]

19. Delos. Durrbach, *op. cit.*, no. 298 A, lines 85-86.

[- - ἄλλας φιάλας] ἐπιγραφὴν ἐχοῦσας· βασιλεὺς | Ἀντίγονος βα-  
σιλέως Δημ[ητρίου Μακεδών Θεοῖς Σωτήρσι - -].<sup>1</sup>

#### ANTIGONUS III

20. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1097.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγον[ος βασιλέως]  
Δημητρίου κα[ὶ Μακεδόνες]  
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι [ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ]  
Σελλασίαν μά[χης Ἀπόλλωνι].

#### PHILIP V

21. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1099.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος βασιλέως Δημητρίου Ἀπόλλωνι  
Epistyle blocks from the Portico of Philip.

<sup>1</sup> In his commentary on p. 50 Durrbach says,—"je n'hésite pas à admettre, l. 85, l'ingénieuse conjecture de W. W. Tarn, Θεοῖς Σωτήρσι; *Antig. Gon.*, p. 380, n. 33: ces mots ne sont pas conservés dans aucun texte, mais ils sont plausibles en eux-mêmes et correspondent exactement à la lacune."

22. Delos. *I.G.*, XI, iv, 1100.  
 Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φί[λιππος]  
 βασιλέως Δημη[τρίου]  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀγ[ώνων]  
 Ἀπόλλων[ι].

The letters in line 2 are widely spaced to preserve the symmetry.

23. Rhodes. C. Blinkenberg, *Die Lindische Tempelchronik*, Bonn (1915), p. 34, lines 127-130. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie*, 1922, pp. 28-30.

[Ba]σιλεὺ[s] Φίλιππος πέλτας δέκα, σαρίσας δ[έκ]α, π[ε]|[ρικε-  
 φαλ]αίας [δέ]κα, [έ]φ' ὧν ἐ[π]ιγέγραπται· βα[σ]ιλεὺ[s] | [Μακεδ]ό-  
 [ν]ων Φίλιππο[s] βασι[λ]έως Δημη[ητρί]ου νι|κάσας Δα[ρ]δ[ανί]ου[s]  
 καὶ - - - Ἀθάναι Λινδαίαι

There are no extant dedications of Demetrius II and Perseus.

*Summary.* On examining the preserved dedications, it does appear at first as though we actually had three distinct royal styles, each one peculiar to an individual king: for Antigonos Gonatas, "King Antigonos, the son of King Demetrius, Macedonian"; for Antigonos III, "King Antigonos, the son of King Demetrius, and the Macedonians"; and for Philip V, "Philip, King of the Macedonians, the son of King Demetrius." Discussion of the royal style employed by Antigonos Gonatas may be postponed until the styles of Antigonos III and Philip V have been examined.

The Sellasia dedication at Delos (no. 20) is usually described as a dedication of Antigonos III.<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect. The dedication was not made by the king alone; it was made by the king, the Macedonians, and allies, together. There are three dedicators, not one. Strictly considered, therefore, the Sellasian is not a royal dedication, and hence it cannot be held to offer evidence of the 'royal style' ordinarily employed by Antigonos III.

Holleaux has argued that the "change" in style from the βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος - - καὶ Μακεδόνες of the Sellasia dedication to the βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος of Philip V "correspond à un progrès de la puissance monarchique."<sup>2</sup> In the *Cambridge Ancient History* (VIII, p. 144) he states, "In Macedonia he (Philip V) rejected Doson's constitutional arrange-

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 518, "Antigoni Dosonis donarium Delium."

<sup>2</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXXI (1907), pp. 97-98.



ments: the formula 'King Philip and the Macedonians' was replaced by 'Philip king of the Macedonians.'" The reader may judge this theory from the evidence, which is as follows. In the treaty of Philip V with Hannibal (Polyb. 7, 9), the contracting parties on the Macedonian side are the king, the Macedonians, and the allies. The constitutional change which Holleaux posits must therefore have occurred after 215 B.C. The proclamation of Titus Flamininus at the Isthmian Games of 196 began as follows:—*ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνas*<sup>1</sup> —." From this it is clear that if the formula "King Philip and the Macedonians" was ever rejected, it was resumed before Cynoscephalae. But it is possible to proceed further. There exists a dedication of Attalus I at Pergamum commemorating the battle of Chios (201 B.C.), which runs (lines 3–5) [ἀ]πὸ τ[ῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον] | καὶ Μακεδ[όνas παρὰ Χίου] | ναυμ[αχίας].<sup>2</sup> This text is from exactly the period in which, according to Holleaux's hypothesis, Philip's alleged despotic tendencies found their fullest expression. It is thus clear that the documentary evidence does not support Holleaux's conclusion. There is no reason to assume a constitutional change in Macedonia during the reign of Philip V; moreover, had such a change taken place, Polybius in his denunciations of Philip would certainly have mentioned it.<sup>3</sup>

The distinction between the Sellasia dedication and the three dedications of Philip V is quite simple. The Sellasia dedication was made, and the cost of the monument presumably paid, by the three parties appearing as the dedicators, — Antigonus III, the Macedonians, and the allies. The surviving dedications of Philip V, on the contrary, are personal dedications, that is, they were dedicated and paid for by the king alone. No constitutional changes of any kind are involved.

The style *βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων* was not new. It had been used by Cassander,<sup>4</sup> and appears in the headings of the letters

<sup>1</sup> Polyb., 18, 46, 5.

<sup>2</sup> M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, no. 52, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> As further evidence of Philip's absolutism, Holleaux (*C.A.H.*, VIII, p. 144) remarks that Philip "did not scruple to place his image on his coins, as no one of his ancestors had done, except Demetrius I." But this argument has no force, for Demetrius II and Antigonus III struck no gold or silver, and in fact the head of Antigonus Gonatas does appear on some of his Pan tetradrachms; cf. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London (1933), p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 332. It is important to note that this document is not an administrative note but a formal land grant. The king therefore appears with his full title.

attributed to Philip II in the *De Corona*.<sup>1</sup> This style finds an interesting similarity of usage in the letter of King Ziaëlas of Bithynia to the Coans;<sup>2</sup> in the salutation the king appears as βασιλεὺς Βιθυνῶν Ζιαήλας. The kings of Macedonia and of Bithynia resembled each other insofar as they were both, unlike the other Hellenistic kings, rulers over a unified people with a keen national consciousness. If a letter of an Antigonid king of Macedon to an independent state were discovered, its salutation would probably begin βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων nomen. The extant royal dedications are from sites independent of Antigonid rule; for that reason the kings employ their full style. Dedications in Macedonia might well, like the royal letters, show only the style βασιλεὺς nomen.

The royal style used by Antigonus Gonatas in his dedications (16-19) may now be considered. Tarn has suggested that the style ending in Μακεδών was "adopted as a mark of distinction by those kings who reigned over Orientals."<sup>3</sup> This statement is only to be modified to mean that Μακεδών was the style employed by those kings of Macedonian descent who ruled *outside of Macedon*. Antigonus ruled as king for a number of years after his father's death before he became king of Macedon. Tarn is certainly right in seeing a "survival" in the use of Μακεδών.<sup>4</sup> The style used by Gonatas in his dedications shows only that he continued to use, after having become king of Macedon, the same style he had employed in the years between the death of his father and his accession to the Macedonian throne.

*Summary of Part I.* The conclusions reached in this examination of the royal style of the Antigonid kings of Macedon may now be summarized. The documents tend to fall into two large classes, those from territories under Antigonid rule and those from independent territories. The documents of the first class tend to be quite succinct; the style is usually only βασιλεὺς nomen. The style appearing in the second class of documents, documents whose place of origin is independent of Antigonid rule, is more elaborate. The usual, but not invariable, formula employed in dedications in

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of these letters is for our purposes beside the point. A forger would certainly be accurate in reproducing the style of the royal salutations.

<sup>2</sup> Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 25, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.*, XXIX (1909), p. 269; *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 168, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Antigonos Gonatas*, *loc. cit.*

honor of Antigonid kings seems to have been βασιλέα *nomen βασιλέως nominis patris* Μακεδόνα; this formula is attested for two kings. In dedications made by the kings themselves, the formula βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων *nomen βασιλέως nominis* was very probably the one generally used, though it is attested only for one reign, that of Philip V. Antigonus Gonatas in his dedications continued to use the same style after becoming king of Macedon as that of the early years of his reign when he was merely a *de facto* ruler in central Greece, βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μακεδών. The formula Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος - - - καὶ Μακεδόνες appearing in the Sellasia dedication is not really an example of royal style at all, but simply gives the two constituent elements of the Macedonian state, — the monarchy as represented by the reigning king, and the Macedonians. Finally, there is no evidence whatsoever for an individual royal style peculiar to each king and appearing in all documents of whatever character and origin.

## PART II

### THE ATHENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

The assumption that each Antigonid king used a royal style peculiar to himself made it natural, when the problem of Philip's maternal parentage was first investigated, to infer that each king would be designated by an individual formula in connection with the Athenian sacrifices. With the disproof of the assumption, the inferences made therefrom for Athenian inscriptions lose force. Fortunately it is possible to determine in nearly every case how the Athenian inscriptions actually read.

During the period (262–229 B.C.) of Macedonian domination of Athens, it was the custom to mention the Macedonian royal house as beneficiaries in the official state sacrifices. The formula would normally, for instance, take this sort of form: τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνευ ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαί τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ δέ, κτλ. For our purposes only the portion of this which we have underlined is of interest; it occupies 62 letters, or 58 letter-spaces if we count each iota as half a letter.

We offer a table showing all such formulae together (p. 142), and a separate discussion of each inscription. The reader will note that Ἀντιγόνου and Δημητρίου require the very same space, and that Φίλας and Φθίλας are also of equal length. Hence spatial requirements alone do not enable, in any instance whatever, a determination as to whether the inscription in question is to be dated in the reign of Antigonos, before 239 B.C., or in the reign of Demetrius, 239–229. It will also be noted that four of the texts were erased in 200 B.C. as part of the *damnatio memoriae* carried out against the Macedonians in that year.

Hesperia IV (1935), p. 583 = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 798. The erasure in this inscription is mentioned for the sake of completeness,<sup>1</sup> though it cannot be proved conclusively that the erased words referred to a Macedonian king. The only other plausible reason for an erasure, however, is for the sake of correcting an error. In line 9 an error *was* corrected by erasure: a letter had been omitted, three spaces were erased, and in these spaces ΙΜΩΞ was then inscribed (the order having been thus disturbed, the following ΑΙ were also crowded into one space). Hence it would seem that in line 16 also, *if* the erasure had been made for correction, letters would have been inscribed in the erased portion. The length of the erasure as preserved to the broken edge of the stone is 11 letters. The total possible length of the erasure is 33 letters in all, but the context suggests that the number of letters erased was rather less. No restoration has been offered.

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 775.<sup>2</sup> This inscription is definitely not *stoichedon*; in addition, the lines end with syllables. If we plot the text on graph paper, allowing half-spaces to iotas, the spacing is seen to be fairly

<sup>1</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 683, which once had a presumably complete formula, preserves only the beginning [καὶ] τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου[υ- and the stone is broken a few millimeters too high to preserve any trace of any letter below those just given.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, *Class. Quart.* XVIII (1924), 18–19. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 182–183. Fine, *Class. Quart.* XXVIII (1934), 100–101. Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1935), 585, retains the date given by Ferguson, namely 248/7, for the archon Lysiades, who dates the second decree.



TABLE OF SACRIFICIAL FORMULAE MENTIONING THE ANTIGONID ROYAL HOUSE

Date	Inscription	Order	Space to be filled	Space occupied by text*	TEXT
256/5	<i>Hesp.</i> IV (1935), p. 583 = <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 798	<i>Stoich.</i>	11-33	..	(Not restored)
Soon before 248/7	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 775	Not <i>stoich.</i>	ca. 39	39* 40†*	[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως   'Αντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ] OR [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως   'Αντιγόνου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας]?
246/5	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 780 Figure 1	<i>Stoich.</i>	62	62	[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Αντιγόνου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης] Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν
ca. 240	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 776	Not <i>stoich.</i>	ca. 57	57*	[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Αντιγόνου κ]αὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης (sic) [Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν] [Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν]
ca. 240-230	<i>Prytanis</i> ( <i>Hesp.</i> Suppl. I [1937]) no. 22	Not <i>stoich.</i>	ca. 65½—ca. 75½	..	(Not restored)
236/5	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1299, ll. 10-11 Figure 2	<i>Stoich.</i>	62	62	καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης [Φίλας] καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ
235/4	<i>Prytanis</i> no. 23 = <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 790	<i>Stoich.</i>	54	54	[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ]?

\* In the restoration of inscriptions which are not *stoichedon*, iota must count as half a letter. In inscriptions which are *stoichedon*, iota has the value of one whole letter. In the table above, those figures which are followed by asterisks mean "full letter-spaces, iotas being counted as halves"; whereas those figures which are not followed by asterisks are based on the value of one whole letter for each iota.



regular. Thus in line 14 the restoration καὶ γ[υναικῶν [[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως]] ] reaches exactly to the point where ideally the line should end. In the next line the space is ideally of  $25\frac{1}{2}$ – $26\frac{1}{2}$  “full” letters. This does not exclude [ [‘Αντιγόνου καὶ τῆς | βασιλίσσης Φίλας]] ], which occupies  $27\frac{1}{2}$  spaces; but it does favor [ [‘Αντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ]] ] which occupies 26 spaces. Antigonos had one son living at this time: the first restoration might seem preferable, or in the second, τοῦ ἐγγόνου might be substituted for the plural. We are inclined to believe, however, that the formula did not always vary to take account of the facts in this respect (see *below*). The reference to the king and to the progeny without mention of the queen is exactly paralleled, moreover, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, line 36.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780.<sup>1</sup> Figure 1. The text has always been considered not to be *stoichedon*. Actually, in the first 13 lines, just 34 letters fall outside their *stoichoi*, and in these same lines, only line 2 is irregular in the sense that the letters outside *stoichoi* are crowded together so as to make room for extra letters. In other words, all the first 13 lines are virtually regular *stoichedon*, except only line 2, — insofar as these lines are preserved on the stone. The erasure included parts of lines 10 and 11. Hence, insofar as those lines are preserved, they were *stoichedon*. The parts of the erasures now preserved on the stone therefore included 53 letters, no more and no less.

To this we have to add the space in the erasure now lost where the stone is broken away at the end of line 10. It is clear from the (preserved) beginnings of the lines that the *stoichedon* order was not modified at the ends of lines in order to end each line with a syllable.<sup>2</sup> Hence we should expect that the *stoichedon* order was continued to the ends of the lines. This is in fact what we find in every line if we restore the missing letters, except only that lines 1 and 2 are each one letter too long. In line 4 the text should be corrected

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100. Fine, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102. Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1935), 585, retains the date given by the Ferguson cycles, namely 246/5 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This principle was not commonly observed until the 230's.

to admit two blank spaces before  $\xi\delta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , and in line 11 we must in any case restore  $\tau\epsilon$  after  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ [os. There are no other possible irregularities at the ends of lines. It thus becomes amply clear that the missing part of the erasure in line 10 contained the regular number of letters, which is 9. The total number of letters erased was therefore  $(53 + 9 =) 62$ .

This count *omits* the vacant space after the erasure, which has always been recognized. The count *includes* the space occupied by an alleged letter,  $\xi$ , which was first read by Koehler in the erasure at its very end, just before the vacant space. The alleged strokes do not form a sigma of the shape used in this inscription, and in fact the length of the two lower marks shows that they are not strokes at all. No letter can be read in the space in question.

Misled by the epigraphists and their false  $\xi$ , Tarn restored [ $\kappa\alpha\iota$  τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλα]s, and argued therefrom that the 'official style' of Antigonos ended with the Queen's name; hence that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780, the present inscription, dated by the archon Kallimedes, *must* fall in the reign of Antigonos, since the 'official style' of Demetrius ended differently (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, see Table). The date of Kallimedes must now rest on grounds other than any restoration of the erased letters.

Unlike the other erasures of Macedonian names, the present deletion is irregular and scratchy in appearance. We have not detected within the erasure any sure stroke of any letter; but above the erasure, in the 41st *stoichos* of line 10 (which means the 40th *stoichos* of the erasure), there is clearly visible a vertical stroke. The stroke is exactly in the centre of the *stoichos*, precisely as should be expected in a *stoichedon* inscription. Projecting high up in this way, the stroke can belong only to  $\Phi$ .<sup>1</sup>

With exact conformity to the position of  $\Phi$  and to the length of the erasure, 62 letters, we have restored the formulae of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 776, lines 9-10, and of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, lines 10-11.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Fig. 1 the character of the stroke, a sharp cut and not a ragged break, is less clear than on a squeeze.

<sup>2</sup> This permits us to recognize in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 777, line 9, which reads [- - -] βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου - - -], a mention of Demetrius I. Such an interpretation is the more



Figure 1. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780.



I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 776.<sup>1</sup> The lettering is sufficiently regular to assure us that lines 9-10 should be restored as shown in the Table.

The archon Alkibiades is dated to ca. 240 by mere prosographical evidence. Tarn's argument that the decree belongs after 240 was based on the theory of an official style.

Prytaneis (Hesperia, Supplement I [1937]), no. 22, q.v. The erasure here is of *at least*  $65\frac{1}{2}$  "full" letter-spaces (i.e., the inscription is not *stoichedon* and iota always counts as half a letter). More probably the gap is over  $75\frac{1}{2}$  spaces. No restoration can be established.

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1299.<sup>2</sup> Figure 2. It has been wrongly alleged<sup>3</sup> that the name of Phthia had been erased in line 11. In the area in question the stone is merely eroded by water. We have been unable to find positive traces of letters, but the restoration cannot be doubtful. The stone is broken at the end of the previous line in such a way that the break seems to follow the upright of Δ in Δ[η|μητριον]. The restoration of this name conforms to the *stoichedon* order, which was modified so as to end most lines with syllables. Thus line 11 ended with two blank spaces. This inscription gives us, therefore, two complete, unerased formulae, one in lines 10-11, the other in line 36. Both occur in the first decree.

In this first decree Aristophanes is praised for sacrifices at the Haloa (January 235). The beneficiaries of the sacrifices explicitly included Queen Phthia. The second formula, dealing with the ἀπερή and εὐνοία of Aristophanes, omits mention of Phthia. From this Tarn argues that she had died in the interval between the sacrifices of January 235 and the passage of the decree. Since it seemed to Tarn that Phthia's name had to be restored in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>,

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natural since the previous line mentions the father of the man honored; obviously line 7 continues the account of the father's deeds. Tarn (*op. cit.*, p. 19) was led to consider that the title and name were a patronymic, which thus supported his restoration in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 790.

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 171. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Fine, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>3</sup> A.J.P., XXXIV (1913), p. 388.



790 of 235/4, he contended that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299 was passed after 235/4 — in 234/3 or a little later. We shall see that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790 cannot be reliably restored; hence Phthia *might* have died as early as the period between January and July of 235, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299 *can* be dated ca. July 235.

That is in fact its latest probable date. The last office recorded in the second decree is a second generalship, held in the year of [Ekphantos]. The second decree would thus appear to have been passed in the course of, or just after the end of, that year. The first decree is a decree of the garrisons praising Aristophanes, who was, or had just ceased to be, their general. This generalship was doubtless his second generalship, that of the year of [Ekphantos], as recorded in the second decree. The first decree, therefore, was passed at the same time as, or most likely a short time before, the second.

The date of the first decree can perhaps be more exactly fixed. The document begins with some account of the career of Aristophanes. In this account, which appears to have been chronologically arranged, the last recorded event is the sacrifices of the Haloa. The acceptance of the good things accruing from these sacrifices is the first and main reason given for praising Aristophanes in the δεδόχθαι-clause of lines 20 ff. The decree was presumably passed immediately after the sacrifices. If this is correct, then the omission of Phthia's name in the clause of line 36 can hardly signify that she had died.

In sum, we are quite free to date both decrees of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299 exactly as they would naturally be dated if Phthia were mentioned in the second formula. We are also free to restore her name in a decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790) of the next year.

Quite apart from chronology, it is at least dubious whether one can reasonably argue that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299 testifies to the death of Phthia. If she had died during the brief interim between sacrifice and decree, that would not be a reason for omitting her name. On the contrary, the soldiers would naturally have been careful to emphasize the ἀρετή and εὐνοία which Aristophanes had always displayed toward the lamented Queen. It seems rather that the omission of her name from line 36 is due merely to a clerical com-



Figure 2. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299.



pression of the formula, giving precisely the form favored for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 775. The context here is after all quite different from that of the first mention of the royal family (lines 10-11). The first mention records a formula solemnly recited on the occasion of the sacrifices; the second is merely part of a routine expression of goodwill.

**Prytaneis** (*Hesperia*, Supplement I [1937]), no. 23 (with photograph) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790.<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780 and 790 are by the same hand, though some of the forms show differences such as might develop in eleven years (246/5-235/4). The similarities in respect to blank spaces used for punctuation, and irregularities in the stoichedon arrangement, are notable. In *Prytaneis*, *loc. cit.*, it is proved that the gap was of 53, 54, or 55 letters, with a strong preference for 54.

The problem of the restoration is tantalizing, because according to the analogues it should run *καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ . . . ? . . .* so that, *if* the irregularity attested by the space of 54 letters (instead of the regular 62) came at the end of the formula, *then* only seven letters need to be restored, or four letters and the article. We have found no better restoration than *τοῦ υἱοῦ*; if correct, it might refer to four-year-old Philip, the *αὐτῶν* being omitted (we here adopt a suggestion by Dinsmoor) for accuracy, with or without regard to Phthia's feelings.<sup>2</sup> No restoration can be reliable in the absence of contemporary Athenian parallels.

The stone itself also gives pause. The erasure is irregular in depth and width, and study of the stone has made it seem unsafe to base conjectures on the formula just given. The erasure is very shallow, for instance, where the first B ought to show, but does not; likewise as regards the P; and half the preserved Φ's are tall enough

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Fine, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102. Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1935), 585, retains the date given by the Ferguson cycles, namely 235/4 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> If no question of legitimacy existed, then *αὐτῶν* could be included or omitted freely without implications. Thus *O.G.I.S.* 86 reads *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου* (Philopator, 221-205 B.C.) *καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ*; whereas *O.G.I.S.* 87 adds *αὐτῶν* at the end (cf. also 88, 89). — It is notable that the son Ptolemy was a child of four or less.

to appear in the narrow erasure just where the  $\Phi$  of  $\Phi\theta ias$  would be expected.

What is certain, and what does provide a basis for argument, is that the formula is not the same as either of those which had been used just a year or so earlier in Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299), of which one is 8 letters longer, and the other is 13 letters shorter, than the space of 54 letters in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790. This points to a true difference of wording, not to 'royal style' modified by omissions, mis-spellings, and the like.

*Summary.* The following propositions may be considered as proved: —

(1) The most usual formula for sacrifices on behalf of the Antigonid house, both under Antigonus Gonatas and under Demetrius II, is:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'Αντιγόνου} \\ \text{Δημητρίου} \end{array} \right\} \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\varsigma \\ \Phi\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \end{array} \right\} \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{o}\nu\omega\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\upsilon\ (\textit{I.G.}, \text{II}^2, 776, 780, 1299).$  The 'official style,' if any, for both reigns is exactly the same.

(2) In at least one of the two reigns, this formula could be shortened to omit the Queen or the children (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 775), or it could be definitely changed (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790). The customary formula could also be lengthened (*Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Supplement I [1937], no. 22).

Altogether it has become impossible to believe that we have to deal in these Athenian decrees with an 'official style' peculiar to each Macedonian king or rigidly uniform for all kings; and that the Athenians employed 'official style.' The same sort of form as that cited under (1) would doubtless have been used for any king who ruled Athens, and variations from the form, as under (2), were permitted.

In view of this formulaic vagueness and variability, two further propositions become highly probable:

(A) Phrases referring to offspring are not to be pressed for specific meaning, if their language is not specific. The phrase  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{o}\nu\omega\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\upsilon$  means "and of such children as they may have," or, more in our legal idiom, "and of the (actual or hypotheti-



cal) heirs of their bodies," — a general quasi-legal term, that is, covering whatever may be the actual situation. It does not imply that there were then living children: for such, as such, the phrase would take one of the forms *καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ δέινος*, or the like. Thus Phthia may never have had a child.

(B) The omission of reference to the queen does not necessarily mean that she had died. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, line 36, we have merely another shortened formula, akin to, but not the same as, a shortened formula of the very next year (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790). We do not know how much longer Phthia lived.

The garrisons voting at Eleusis to praise their general Aristophanes, particularly for his sacrifices of the Haloa in January 235, speak of those sacrifices as having been offered for King Demetrius, Queen Phthia, and their progeny. Thus the salient fact, emphasized by Tarn and Fine, remains. In January 235, Phthia was alive, and she was the recognized Queen of Demetrius II. Examination of the epigraphical evidence has not altered that important *datum*.

### PART III

#### THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

The errors which arose from study of the inscriptions biased study of the literary evidence. It will be convenient to quote the literary sources *in extenso*.

Justin, 28, 3, 9-10.

*His in Epiro gestis interim in Macedonia Demetrius rex relicto filio Philippo, parvulo admodum, decedit, cui Antigonus tutor datus accepta in matrimonium matre pupilli regem se constitui laborat.*

Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, 8.

τούτου (Antigoni Gonatae) δὲ Δημήτριος ὃς αὐτός τε βασιλεύσας χρόνον οὐ πολὺν, υἱὸν τε παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπολιπὼν Φίλιππον ἐτελεύτησε. δείσαντες δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων Ἀντίγονον

ἐπάγονται τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, καὶ συνοικίσαντες αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίτροπον καὶ στρατηγόν, εἴτα πειρώμενοι μετρίου καὶ κοινωφελοῦς βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν. ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Δώσων ὡς ἐπαγγελτικός, οὐ τελεσιουργὸς δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων.

Eusebius, *Chronica*, ed. Schoene, I, 237, 238.

ὃν (Antigonum Gonatam) διαδέχεται υἱὸς Δημήτριος, ὃς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Λιβύην ἔλαβε, Κυρήνας τε ἐκράτησε, καὶ κατέσχευεν ἑτῶν δέκα. γήμας δὲ τινα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ Χρυσήϊδα προσειπὼν, Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσχε τὸν πρῶτον πολεμήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον Μακεδόσι γενόμενον.

Φίλιππον μὲν οὖν ὀρφανεύομενον ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀντίγονος ἕτερος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, ᾧ Φοῦσκος ἐπώνυμον ἦν. δίκαιον δὲ τὸν Φοῦσκον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὀρώντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐστήσαντο βασιλεύειν, καὶ τὴν Χρυσήϊδα αὐτῷ ἤρμωσαν. ὁ δὲ παίδων γενομένων ἐκ τῆς Χρυσήϊδος, οὐκ ἀνεθρέψατο, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Φιλίππῳ περισώζων, ᾧ δὴ καὶ παρέδωκεν ἀποθνήσκων, ἐπιτροπεύσας μὲν ἐπ' ἑτη ἰβ', ζήσας δὲ πάντα ἑτη μβ'. ἦν δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου υἱὸς, ὃν οἱ Μακεδόνες Καλὸν ἐπωνόμαζον.

To these texts, adduced by Tarn and Fine, may be added *Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. Δώσων:

οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ εἰς τῶν Ἀντιγόνων, ὁ υἱὸς Δημητρίου· ὃς ἔγχε Χρυσίδα τὴν μητέρα Φιλίππου τοῦ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γενομένου. εἴρηται δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλότιμον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι.

Justin's source is of course Pompeius Trogus, the contemporary of Livy.<sup>1</sup> The possibility that Trogus was the source of Plutarch and Porphyry can hardly be seriously entertained. It is quite clear that Plutarch and Eusebius-Porphyry are independent of each other and that they do not, at least directly, go back to the same source. Porphyry cannot be based on Plutarch, for the sufficient reason that Eusebius contains information not to be found in Plutarch. From Plutarch, Porphyry could not have taken the following items: (1) the name of Chryseis, (2) the statement that she was a captive, (3) the epithet Φοῦσκος, (4) the name of Antigonus' father, (5) the statement that Antigonus raised none of his children by Chryseis, (6) the length of Antigonus' life and reign. Plutarch

<sup>1</sup> For the problem of the sources of Trogus, cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, II Teil, München (1935), pp. 322-325, and references there cited.

moreover contains information not in Porphyry, namely (1) the Macedonians' fear of anarchy after the death of Demetrius II, (2) the title *strategos* given to Antigonos, (3) the nickname Δώσων. For all these reasons it is amply clear that Plutarch and Porphyry are entirely independent sources.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore the *Et. Mag.* does not derive from either Plutarch or Eusebius. Plutarch does not give the names of Philip's mother or Antigonos' father, both of which occur in the *Et. Mag.* Nor is Eusebius the source of the *Et. Mag.*, for Eusebius does not give Δώσων as the epithet of Antigonos III but, on the contrary, calls him Φοῦσκος. The *Et. Mag.* cannot be discredited by assuming that the author of this notice took the name Chryseis and that of the father of Antigonos from Eusebius, likewise the epithet Δώσων from Plutarch, and then combined these bits of information in his notice. This assumption, in itself thoroughly unlikely, is sufficiently damaged by the fact that the explanation of Δώσων given by the *Et. Mag.* is almost the precise opposite of that given by Plutarch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Jacoby (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II D [1930], p. 862) to the effect that this passage of Plutarch "steht im Wortlaut P(orphyrius) 14 sehr nahe, gibt aber der Mutter Philipps keinen Name" is misleading, implying as it does that the absence of Chryseis' name in Plutarch is the only important difference between the two versions. The similarity "im Wortlaut," if any, is merely due to the fact that these two passages deal with the same events.

The following passage of Pausanias (7, 7, 4) seems definitely to be an echo of Plutarch — Ἀντίγονος δὲ οὗτος τηνικαῦτα ἀρχὴν Μακεδόνων εἶχεν, ἐπιτροπεύων Φίλιππον τὸν Δημητρίου παῖδα ἔτι ἡλικίαν ὄντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ συνώκει.

The only difference between Pausanias and Plutarch is that Pausanias makes Antigonos the ἀνεψιὸς of Philip (which is of course true), while in Plutarch he is the ἀνεψιὸς of Demetrius II. This divergence, if it really may be so considered, is quite insignificant and may be due either to a slip on the part of Pausanias or to a slight attempt at originality. The resemblances are striking: Antigonos is described as ἀνεψιὸς in both passages; Plutarch has παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, Pausanias παῖδα ἔτι ἡλικίαν; and there is the similarity of συνοικίσαντες and συνώκει. For these reasons it does not appear that Pausanias can safely be used as independent evidence.

Syncellus 535, 19 (ed. Dindorf, Bonn [1829], p. 282A: Μακεδόνων ἰὲ ἐβασίλευε Φίλιππος υἱὸς Δημητρίου ἔτη καθ' ἑαυτὸν μβ' ἐκ Χρυσσηίδος τῆς αἰχμαλώτου) has no independent value, being certainly based on Eusebius.

<sup>2</sup> The definition of Δώσων given by the *Et. Mag.* is most implausible, but so is Plutarch's. Even if we assume that the author of this notice invented his own defi-

This passage of the *Et. Mag.* must be considered to be quite independent of Plutarch and Eusebius. All four literary sources, therefore, are independent of one another.

We may now turn to the information given by the sources. Certain considerations become apparent immediately: —

(1). It is never stated in any author that Phthia was the mother of Philip V.

(2). All four literary sources state that Antigonus III married Philip's mother.

(3). The two sources which do give the name of Philip's mother agree in calling her Chryseis.

Moreover from Polybius (5, 89, 7) it appears that shortly after the great earthquake in Rhodes (227 or 226 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> the wife of Antigonus was in fact named Chryseis. Thus from the literary evidence in itself there would seem to be no question that Chryseis was Philip's mother.

There are other observations of some force: —

(4). None of the sources says that Philip's mother was the wife of Demetrius II.

(5). It is never stated that Antigonus III married the wife of Demetrius, whereas all four sources, as we have seen, mention the marriage of Antigonus to Philip's mother. This unanimity can hardly be fortuitous; it strongly favors the conclusion that Chryseis was Demetrius' mistress, not his wife.

There is further evidence, to wit Philip's name. The father of Antigonus I was named Philip,<sup>2</sup> and Antigonus I gave this name to his younger son.<sup>3</sup> But from this time down to the birth of Philip V,

tion of the epithet, the only result would be that his source of information gave no explanation and hence he was forced to invent one. But this in turn would show clearly that his source was not Plutarch, for it is absurd to suppose that he took the word *Δώσω* from Plutarch, jettisoned Plutarch's definition, and then invented one of his own.

<sup>1</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen, *P.W.*, Supplement-band 5, Col. 785.

<sup>2</sup> Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 133; add *Inscriptionen von Priene*, no. 2, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 134.



the name never again occurs in the Antigonid house, — an interval of over three generations. All legitimate males in the direct line down to the birth of Philip, with the single exception of Alexander, the son of Demetrius I and Deidameia (whose name was probably taken from his mother's family),<sup>1</sup> were named either Antigonus or Demetrius. Had Philip been the legitimate son of Demetrius II one would naturally expect him to have been named Antigonus after his grandfather or, if he were the younger of two sons, Demetrius. The name Philip is not in itself decisive proof that he was illegitimate, but it certainly favors the conclusion that his mother was not the recognized wife of Demetrius, and that Philip at the time of his birth was not expected to succeed to the throne.

The name Chryseis is also remarkable. One would hardly expect a family to give one of its daughters the name of Agamemnon's concubine. The Homeric connotations of the name *Χρυσήϊς* were in fact so familiar and so strong as actually to make the name very uncommon. Search in the prosopographies of Kirchner, Sundwall, Graindor, Porolla, and Pape, and the various indexes in *I.G.* and *I.G.*<sup>2</sup>, in *S.I.G.* and *O.G.I.S.*, in *S.E.G.* and in *Hesperia* has yielded the following instances. (1) *Χρυσήϊς*, wife of Anthesterios (*S.E.G.*, I [1923], 314: stele, Mesembria, late fifth or early fourth century). (2) *Χρυσήϊς*, slave, Delphi (Collitz, *S.G.D.I.*, 21533: archonship of Kleudamos, second century B.C.). (3) An inscription reading *Θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις) | Πρόκλ[η] Χρυσήϊδι τε ἀμφοτέρες*

<sup>1</sup> The direct line of legitimate males in the Seleucid house has only the names Seleucus and Antiochus down to Demetrius I in the second century. (That Achaeus was the name of a son of Seleucus I is a plausible conjecture of Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 205. But there is no evidence at all that Achaeus' mother was the wife of Seleucus.) The Ptolemies do not exhibit such definite regularity, but there is no example of any name except Ptolemy occurring in the direct line of legitimate males after a break of three generations.

The name Perseus given by Philip V to his eldest son does not in itself prove a departure from normal practice, for it is not known that Perseus' mother Polycrateia was in fact Philip's wife; Livy, 27, 31, 8 — "*Spe regiarum nuptiarum*" hardly proves that Philip married Polycrateia, cf. Livy, 32, 21, 24 — "*fili (Arati) uxorem libidinis causa in Macedoniam asportatam*," which comes, however, from an anti-Macedonian speech. But in any case, as is shown by his coins, Philip V was extraordinarily devoted to the cult of the hero Perseus.



τέκνοισιν | ταῖσδε γονῆαις (i.e., γονῆες) μνήμης | [χ]άριν τόδε σῆμ' ἐποίησαν (*I.G.*, XIV, 806: Naples, no date). (4) In an inscription reading Θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις) | Λονγίνω κοπιάσαντι ἐς ταῦτα τὰ | χωρία ἐπέγραψεν Χρυσῆς ἡ | σύνβιος αὐτοῦ (*I.G.*, XIV, 1811: Rome, third century A. D.). Most, if not all, of these women were manifestly of humble station. Clearly it would have been most unusual for a woman of distinguished family to be named Chryseis.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible to proceed further, for it is the name Chryseis itself which reveals what was the position originally held by Philip's mother at the Antigonid court.

Eusebius has the following sentence: γήμας (Demetrius II) δέ τινα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ Χρυσῆϊδα προσειπὼν Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσχε —.<sup>2</sup> This sentence obviously means that Philip's mother was a captive and that Chryseis was the name given to her by Demetrius; *her original name therefore was not Chryseis*. At first sight this sentence may seem curious, but it has real point. In the *Iliad* the captive Chryseis was the mistress of Agamemnon, and by giving the name Chryseis to his mistress, also a captive, Demetrius II of course implied that she stood in the same relationship to himself, the Macedonian king, as Homer's Chryseis to Agamemnon, ruler of the Achaeans. This was in its way a compliment not without taste, for Agamemnon had said of Chryseis (A, 113-115): —

καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα,  
κουριδίης ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθ' ἐστι χερείων  
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φνὴν, οὐτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα.

Thus Eusebius' sentence becomes perfectly intelligible, and con-

<sup>1</sup> Two dubious instances may be noted. (1) Χρυσῆς Ἀρτεμᾶ, in a list of unknown import, Tegea (*I.G.*, V, ii, 551: date, Roman Empire). This name is almost certainly that of a man. (2) An inscription reading Χρυσῆς (or Χρυσῆς) | ἐνθάδε κείται | ὀλίγη κόνις (*I.G.*, XIV, 55: Syracuse, no date). The sex of the deceased cannot be determined.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn (*op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 22) states that Chryseis was a Thessalian captive and cites this passage of Eusebius; but none of the sources, including Eusebius, gives Chryseis' nationality. The use of γήμας by Eusebius cannot be taken to mean a formal marriage between Demetrius and Chryseis, for γαμέω is used of quite informal unions.

firms the conclusion that Chryseis was the mistress of Demetrius, not his consort and recognized queen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scholars have as a rule neglected to examine this statement of Eusebius and have contented themselves with remarking that Chryseis was, or is said by Eusebius to have been, a captive. See Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore (1932), pp. 71-72; Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III Teil, II Halb-band, 2nd edition, Gotha (1898) p. 52, n. 1 — "Philipp ist ὁ κατὰ φύσιν υἱὸς des Demetrios; seine Mutter ist . . . Chryseis eine Kriegsgefangene"; Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, II, p. 287, n. 1 — "Sie war angeblich eine Kriegsgefangene, ohne Zweifel aus vornehmster Familie." Beloch (IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 138) remarks, "Nach Porphyrios bei Eusebios wäre Chryseis eine *captiva* gewesen; das ist ein Autoschediasma, oder wenn man will eine Reminiscenz aus der Ilias. Ohne Zweifel gehörte sie einer vornehmen Makedonischen oder Thessalischen Familie an, denn Demetrios erhob sie nach Phthias Tode oder Verstossung zu seiner legitimen Gemahlin und Königin." By "Autoschediasma" Beloch apparently means that the statement that Chryseis was a captive is an error or even an invention of Porphyry. The alternative, that it is "a reminiscence of the Iliad," presumably implies that Porphyry makes Chryseis a captive because her name-sake in the Iliad was a captive. But this would be an extraordinary lapse. Porphyry is a late author and capable of error, as is shown for example by his confusion of Demetrius II with Demetrius the Fair, if this confusion be that of Porphyry and not of Eusebius. But it is one thing to confuse two men of the same name, the same family, from the same country, both living at the same time; and quite another to commit the puerile blunder of inferring from her name that the mother of Philip V, like the character in the Iliad, was a captive. Beloch has the merit of having detected the Homeric reminiscence, but by his failure to analyse the form of Eusebius' statement he has mistakenly assigned the Homeric reminiscence to Porphyry. If Eusebius said that Demetrius "married" Chryseis the captive, much in the way, for example, that Syncellus, compressing Eusebius, says that Philip was the son of Demetrius ἐκ Χρυσήϊδος τῆς αἰχμαλώτου, one might perhaps have reason for questioning the accuracy of the statement and for attempting to explain away τῆς αἰχμαλώτου as a garbled echo of Homer. What Eusebius does say is that Demetrius "married" one of the captives and called her Chryseis. This is very different. Moreover in this instance one may not resort to the ever-convenient expedient of assuming textual corruption, for there exist not only the Greek excerpts from Eusebius but also the Armenian translation of his work, which reads exactly the same. In the German translation of the Armenian version given by Jacoby (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, 2 B, p. 1206) one reads "und er (Demetrius II) herrschte 10 jahre; und heiratete eine von den gefangenen und legte ihr den namen 'die güldene' bei." The Latin translation of the Armenian given in Schoene's edition has, "quandam autem ex captivis uxorem duxit, quam appellavit Aureolam."

One must conclude that Demetrius gave Chryseis her name because she was a captive, *not* that she is said to have been a captive because her name was Chryseis.

It is by no means extraordinary that Demetrius II should have indulged in an Homeric allusion in naming his mistress. Tarn has recently called attention to a subtle piece of flattery achieved by a certain Callicrates, a courtier of Ptolemy I, based on the fact that he gave to his daughter the name of the mother of Odysseus, Anticleia (*J.H.S.*, LIII [1933], pp. 57 ff.). One may also recall the anecdote concerning Antigonos Gonatas and the poet Antagoras, which gets its point from the playful equation of Gonatas with Agamemnon and Antagoras with Homer (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 182 F). A further instance is the Homeric quotation of Sostratos of Cnidus, who, on being sent by Ptolemy II as ambassador to Antigonos Gonatas after the battle of Cos, addressed Antigonos in the words spoken by Iris to Poseidon (O, 201-203), thus implying that though Antigonos had become the master of the sea by his victory, Ptolemy still remained Zeus.<sup>1</sup> Apt literary quotation or paraphrase was much appreciated at the Antigonid court, as is shown by the clever application of a line of Euripides (*Supplices*, 860) by the Macedonian poet Samus at the sack of Thermon in 217, — ὁρᾶς τὸ δῖον οὐ βέλος διέπτατο. The sack of Thermon was a retaliation for the Aetolian outrages at Dion in Pieria and the point of the quotation of course lies in the pun; but the quotation also implies for Philip the rôle of Zeus.

The evidence of the sources, then, leads to the conclusion that the mother of Philip V was the mistress, not the wife and queen, of

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Beloch summarily rejects the clear and explicit statement of Eusebius because he holds that Demetrius raised Chryseis to the position of legitimate consort and queen after Phthia's (supposed) death or divorce, and since Demetrius did so, Chryseis must have belonged to a prominent Macedonian or Thessalian family; hence she could not have been a captive. But this is mere conjecture. There is no proper evidence that Phthia predeceased Demetrius or that Demetrius divorced her, or that Chryseis was ever queen of Macedon during Demetrius' lifetime. Beloch here uses conjectures of his own, conjectures unsupported by any evidence, as arguments to disprove the accuracy of Eusebius' statement. This sentence of Eusebius is perfectly intelligible; it harmonizes with the other sources, and there is no ancient evidence to which it does violence. There is, therefore, no reason for doubting its accuracy.

<sup>1</sup> Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Grammaticos*, 276 (ed. Bekker, p. 662).

Philip's father; and that Chryseis was the name, an obvious Homeric allusion, given to her by Demetrius.<sup>1</sup>

This conclusion as to the identity of Philip's mother enables a juster appreciation of the family history after the death of Demetrius in 229. When Demetrius II died he left no living legitimate male heirs from either of his two wives, Stratonice or Phthia. The only living male representative of the Antigonid house in the direct line was his nine-year-old son by his mistress Chryseis. In order to safeguard Philip's position as heir to the throne, Antigonus married Philip's mother, Demetrius' former mistress, and thus legitimized her position; this marriage necessarily meant that he adopted Philip.<sup>2</sup> Beloch holds that Chryseis must have been Demetrius' wife because, had Philip been illegitimate, Antigonus would have had the better right to the throne.<sup>3</sup> This of course assumes that Antigonus was personally so ambitious that he would have desired to become king in his own right if he could possibly do so. But Eusebius expressly states that Antigonus refused to rear any of his children by his marriage with Chryseis τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Φιλίππῳ περισώζων. This can only mean that Antigonus believed that if he had a son there would be those in Macedonia who would feel that his son should be king rather than Philip. This act of self-

<sup>1</sup> For an alleged instance of a captive's name being changed by a king after she became his mistress, cf. Μιλτώ, whose name was changed to Ἀσπασία by Cyrus, according to Plutarch, *Pericles*, 24, 7; cf. Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 26, 3; Athenaeus 13, 37 (p. 576 D); Aelian *VH* 12, 1.

Professor E. K. Rand has reminded us of Horace *Sat.* 2, 1, 126: *Ilia et Egeria est; do nomen quodlibet illi.*

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and Fine, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103, call attention to the fact that Polybius (4, 2, 5) speaks of Philip as the son of Demetrius κατὰ φύσιν and rightly conclude that this phrase implies that he was the son of someone else, "who can only be Doso" (Tarn); they also cite Polybius 4, 24, 7, where Philip speaks of Antigonus as his father. Justin (29, 1, 2) calls Antigonus the *vitricus* of Philip. In the inscriptions Philip always appears as the son of Demetrius: cf. *supra*, also the epigram *A.P.*, XVI (Planudian Appendix), 6, l. 5, where the poet speaks of Philip as υἱὸς εὐήμελια Δαματρίου.

<sup>3</sup> IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 138 — "Hatte er (Antigonus III) doch selbst als der Nachkomme einer legitimen Gemahlin Demetrios des Belagerers, besseres recht auf der Thron gehabt als der junge Philippos, falls dieser ein Bastard war." Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 18, follows Beloch.



abnegation, the authenticity of which there is no reason to question, is a striking instance of "the well-known family loyalty of the Antigonids."<sup>1</sup>

There remains one apparent difficulty. Polybius says that Philip was not more than seventeen years of age, that is, that Philip was in the course of his seventeenth year in the winter of 221/20,<sup>2</sup> and Philip's birth is therefore to be placed at the latest in the winter of 238/7. There is no doubt that the marriage between Demetrius II and Phthia was celebrated before the outbreak of the Demetrian War (239/8 or 238/7).<sup>3</sup> Philip was born, therefore, while Phthia was Demetrius' wife — shortly before or after, perhaps in the same year as, his father's marriage to the Epirot princess. There is no known instance of an Antigonid king having more than one recognized wife at the same time,<sup>4</sup> but since Philip was very possibly born during the period of Demetrius' marriage to Phthia, we seem to face a dilemma. The literary sources state that Philip's mother was Chryseis, but the Antigonid kings did not have two wives simultaneously, and at the time of Philip's birth his father's wife was probably Phthia.

This apparent dilemma is caused only by the assumption that Philip's mother was the recognized wife and queen of Demetrius, an assumption for which there is no evidence whatsoever. If Chryseis was not queen but merely Demetrius' mistress, the difficulty disappears.

We come now to the attempt made by Tarn<sup>5</sup> and Fine<sup>6</sup> to prove

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., 4, 5, 3; 4, 24, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Demetrian War was caused by Demetrius' decision to support Epirus against the Aetolian League, and the proclamation of this decision was his marriage to Phthia, cf. Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 744. This war began during the Athenian year in which Lysias was archon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, l. 57) according to Ferguson 238/7 (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, Cambridge [1932]). Meritt, however, now places Lysias in 239/8 (*Hesperia* IV [1935], p. 556).

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, *C.Q.*, XVIII (1924), p. 18; Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-103. The article of P. Treves on Antigonos Doson (*Athenaeum*, XII [1934], 22-56, XIII [1935], 381-411) was available to us too late for a full discussion of his views. He doubts the theory of an adoption by Chryseis, but otherwise merely elaborates the view of Tarn and Fine (pp. 408-409).



that Philip's mother was Queen Phthia. This attempt involves a complicated line of argumentation. They hold (1) that Phthia died within a few years of Philip's birth, (2) that soon after Phthia's death Demetrius II married Chryseis, who then (3) adopted Philip, and (4) that after the death of Demetrius, Antigonus III married Chryseis in order to secure the succession for her (adopted) son. The objections to this interpretation are as follows. (1) A new examination of the epigraphic evidence from Athens proves, as has been shown, that Athenian inscriptions do not support the conclusion that Phthia died before the death of Demetrius himself in 229; indeed it is quite possible that she lived for some years as dowager queen after the death of Demetrius.<sup>1</sup> (2-3) There is no evidence at all for the conclusion that Demetrius married Chryseis and that Chryseis then adopted Philip; these are mere conjectures. Furthermore (4) it is difficult to comprehend how the marriage of Antigonus to Philip's adoptive mother would help to ensure Philip's succession to the throne. If Philip were the legitimate son of Demetrius II and Phthia, all that would have been necessary would have been for Antigonus himself to adopt Philip. The statement of Polybius (5, 10, 10), that Philip V claimed to be related to Philip II and Alexander, has been emphasized, since Phthia as an Aeacid was distantly related to Alexander's mother Olympias. This is the only literary evidence which has ever been adduced as support for Phthia's case. It has no force. Polybius' inclusion of Philip II with Alexander shows unmistakably that Philip V claimed to be related to the Argeadae,<sup>2</sup> and there is ample evidence to show that the Antigonids claimed Argead descent.<sup>3</sup> This passage of

<sup>1</sup> The *phiale* dedicated by Phthia at Delos (Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos* "Comptes des Hiéropes," Paris [1929], no. 407, line 20 and no. 461, Bb, line 46) is described as ἀλλη, βασιλίσσης Φθίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου. The first mention of Phthia's dedication is in an account of ca. 190 B.C., the second of 169 B.C. The omission of the name of Phthia's husband Demetrius from the entry *might* indicate that this dedication was made after Demetrius' death.

<sup>2</sup> As Tarn has seen, *J.H.S.*, LIII (1933), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLV (1933), pp. 213 ff. Propertius (4, 11, 39) has the line — *et Persen proavi stimulantem pectus Achilli*. This line occurs in a passage exhibiting every evidence of corruption, but it clearly represents Achilles as the ancestor of Perseus. Silius Italicus (*Punica*, 15, ll. 291-292) writes of

Polybius, therefore, contributes nothing to the problem of Philip's maternal parentage.

The view that Philip's mother was Phthia naturally led to wider doubt about the accuracy of the literary sources. Tarn states,<sup>1</sup> "Eusebius . . . blunders in making Doson rule as guardian, ἐπίτροπος, for the contemporary inscriptions show that he was king." But Eusebius' statement that Antigonus was guardian (ἐπιτροπέυσας) can hardly be taken as meaning that Antigonus was not king. Indeed Polybius himself, in referring to Antigonus III, twice uses exactly the same expression: 2, 45, 2: Ἀντιγόνου . . . ἐπιτροπεύοντι δὲ Φιλίππου παιδὸς ὄντος and 20, 5, 7: Ἀντίγονος μετὰ τὸν Δημητρίου θάνατον ἐπιτροπέυσας Φιλίππου. It is quite clear that in antiquity Antigonus III was usually known as ἐπίτροπος. Athenaeus (6, 251, D) in quoting Phylarchus (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, IIA, frg. 46, p. 177) speaks of Antigonus III as Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος ἐπιτρόπου. Livy (40, 54, 4), of course reproducing Polybius, has: *Antigoni . . . qui tutor Philippi erat*, and, in the next sentence (40, 54, 5): *tutorem eum Graeci, ut cognomine a ceteris regibus distinguerent, adpellarunt*. So far from being in error, Eusebius in using ἐπιτροπέυσας is merely following the usual practice of antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

Difficulties have been found in Plutarch also. Plutarch states

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Philip V: *hic gente egregius veterisque ab origine regni, Aeacidum sceptris praevoque tumebat Achille*. These two bits of evidence seem clearly to indicate Aeacid ancestors for Philip V and Perseus. But neither Propertius nor Silius can be regarded as a trustworthy historical source. Silius for example (15, l. 313) has the *Sarmatian* (!) Orestae attack Macedonia. The Antigonids claimed Argead descent and Propertius and Silius have given to Perseus and Philip V the attributes of the greatest of the Argeadae, Alexander, who on his mother's side was an Aeacid.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Pausanias, 2, 8, 4; 6, 16, 3; 7, 7, 4; 8, 8, 11. Also Justin, 29, 1, 2: *mortuo Antigono tutore*. It has become the custom for modern scholars to refer to Antigonus III as Antigonus Doson. This epithet appears specifically connected with Antigonus only in Plutarch (*Aem. Paul.*, 8; *Coriolanus*, 11) and the *Et. Mag.* Suidas has Δώσων· ὄνομα κύριον, but in his article Ἀντίγονος, which is entirely devoted to Antigonus III, the epithet does not appear. It is clear that in antiquity Antigonus III was usually distinguished from the other two kings of the same name as ὁ ἐπίτροπος or ὁ ἐπιτροπέων Φιλίππου. Δώσων does not appear in Polybius or in Plutarch's lives of Cleomenes and Aratus, which are based respectively on the contemporaries Phylarchus and Aratus.

that after the death of Demetrius οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων made Antigonus *epitropos*, married him to Philip's mother, and then proclaimed him king. The objection (Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 22) is that "The nobles had nothing to do with the matter; the throne being vacant, all authority was in the hands of the army; they alone could make a guardian, a regent or a king." But Plutarch in this passage is giving a rapid outline of the Antigonid dynasty in the space of a few sentences and exactitude in constitutional matters is hardly to be expected. Moreover, even though Plutarch be wrong as regards οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων, the remainder of his story need not necessarily be false; indeed he agrees perfectly with the other sources. And it is quite possible that Plutarch has preserved an echo of the actual events. οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων means only "the leading Macedonians." Certainly the *Heeresversammlung* had, and exercised, the right of decision in naming the heir to the throne or, as in this instance, the regent. But as in every state, so in third century Macedonia, there must have been individuals who because of their social or official position enjoyed exceptional prestige and who, therefore, could and did influence the army in its deliberations. Tarn (*loc. cit.*) refers to the events immediately after the death of Alexander as evidence that the Macedonians "were not likely to forgo their constitutional power." This is of course beyond dispute. Even in this instance, however, influential individuals had a decisive voice, for the ultimate solution was a compromise between the wishes of the high officers and the rank and file as represented by Meleager.<sup>1</sup>

There seems to be no cogent reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of the literary sources. All these sources, although late, are, as has been shown, quite independent of each other, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VI, p. 461; Beloch, IV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 64-65. A passage of Livy (40, 56, 7) dealing with events in Macedonia after the execution of Demetrius, the second son of Philip V, is perhaps apposite. Livy represents Philip as wishing his cousin Antigonus, the son of Echecrates, to succeed him instead of Perseus. In this connection Philip is said to have visited various cities of Macedonia and to have recommended Antigonus to the "principes." There is reason to doubt the accuracy of this story, at least in its present form (cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVI [1935], pp. 199-200), but it shows what Polybius believed a Macedonian king would have done on such an occasion.

impossible to assign one common immediate or mediate source for them all. It seems reasonable to conclude that the sources, though often not too specific and though very compressed, nevertheless represent the high points of the series of events in Macedonia at the time of the death of Demetrius II.

This study maintains that Philip V was the illegitimate son of Demetrius II and his mistress Chryseis. We have used the word "illegitimate" because it is the clearest and most accurate way of stating the point which we hope to have proved. It should be remembered, however, that the Macedonians did not have any such clearcut conception of legitimacy and illegitimacy as exists in modern times. The important thing was that a man should be the publicly recognized son of his father. As Tarn<sup>1</sup> has said in another connection, "In a society like the Macedonian aristocracy, polygamous without fixed rules, legitimacy was at best rather a vague matter, as any one can see who tries to ascertain what were the marriages of Demetrius [I] or Ptolemy I; all that really counted was blood, and when we do get a legitimacy question it is concerned, not with wedlock, but with a doubt whether some person were really his reputed father's son." One example may suffice: Halcyoneus, the son of Antigonus Gonatas by the Athenian courtesan Demo, was treated by his father as Crown Prince<sup>2</sup> until his premature death in battle, that is, even after Gonatas' marriage to Phila and the birth of Demetrius II.<sup>3</sup> For these reasons the absence of statements in the sources as to Philip's illegitimacy hardly have much force.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted, further, that Philip is always referred to, in both the literary sources and the inscriptions, as the son of Demetrius, not of Antigonus III.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.*, XLI (1921), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 247-248 and n. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Halcyoneus was alive in 272 (Plut., *Pyrrhus*, 34), and his death in battle is probably to be placed in the Chremonidean War, against Areus of Sparta, Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 708. The festival of the Halcyoneia, established by Gonatas at Athens in memory of his son (Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 335-336), indicates that the king continued to recognize Halcyoneus.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, *Class. Quart.* XVIII (1924), 18: "had Philip been illegitimate Polybius' Aetolians, in their indictments of him, must have made capital of the fact."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 151, n. 1.



Philip V, then, was the son of Demetrius II and his mistress Chryseis. Since Philip's mother was a captive, the possibility must be left open that she was not Greek or Macedonian at all; for example, Chryseis may possibly have been Thracian, Dardanian, or Illyrian. Both Tarn<sup>1</sup> and Fine<sup>2</sup> have used their conclusion that Phthia, not Chryseis, was Philip's mother as the basis for interpretations of Philip's policy and character. Fine holds that Philip's Aeacid ancestry explains his interest in Italy, while Tarn explains Philip's outbursts of temper, "which paid no heed to consequences provided its object were achieved," as due to his Epirot descent. This is not the place to consider either Philip's supposed Italian policy or his alleged cruelty. Suffice it to say that both these notions depend on Polybius, and Polybius when writing on the Antigonids is at least as tendentious as, for example, Tacitus on the Julio-Claudians. Neither Philip's supposed Italian policy nor his alleged defects of character may any longer be explained as due to Aeacid ancestry.

## PART IV

### ANTIGONUS III

The body of evidence which we have been studying for its bearing on the problem of parentage contains also the material for a sharper picture than has yet been drawn of the events which followed the death of Demetrius in the spring of 229.

## A

On Demetrius' death, says Eusebius,<sup>3</sup> "Antigonus, whose nickname was Phouskos, another member of the royal family, became the guardian of the orphaned Philip. When the Macedonians saw that Phouskos was just in his guardianship, they made him king and married Chryseis to him." From this it is clear that there was

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>3</sup> For the originals of this and the following quotations cf. above, p. 150.



a period of time after the death of Demetrius during which Antigonos was *epitropos* but not king. Plutarch states, "Fearing anarchy, the leading Macedonians brought forward Antigonos, the cousin of the dead king and, marrying him to Philip's mother, they proclaimed him first *epitropos* and *strategos*<sup>1</sup> and then, after they had found by experience that he was moderate and of advantage to the public interest, king." Justin's narrative reads, "— meanwhile in Macedonia King Demetrius died, leaving his son Philip, a small boy. To Philip Antigonos was given as a guardian (*tutor*), and when he had married the mother of his ward he strove to have himself made king." *regem se constitui laborat* clearly means that Antigonos was not king but sought to become so. All three sources agree that there was an interval of time after the death of Demetrius during which Antigonos was *epitropos* but not king.<sup>2</sup>

The sources give only the merest summary of events in Macedonia at this time. If, therefore, they all state that Antigonos was *epitropos* but not king for some time after the death of Demetrius, we must conclude that the interval was not merely one of a few weeks or a month or so but that it lasted for a considerable period. The highly condensed and abbreviated accounts given in the extant sources would hardly have included the mention of Antigonos' *ἐπιτροπεία*, had it occupied only a short period of time and had it been, therefore, of little or no significance. Moreover, it must have taken some time for the Macedonians to discover that Antigonos was "just in his guardianship" and to have "found by experience that he was moderate and of advantage to the public interest." It seems reasonable to conclude that Antigonos was *epitropos*, without being king, for at least a year or more.

The sources differ in regard to one thing only: the time of Antigonos' marriage to Chryseis. Eusebius states explicitly that Antigonos married Chryseis at the time of his assumption of the royal title. Justin on the contrary implies that the marriage to Chryseis

<sup>1</sup> *Strategos* seems to have been the title held by Sosthenes at the time of the Gallic invasion, cf. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 147; Beloch, IV<sup>1</sup>, p. 560 and the references cited.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Trogus, Prologue to book 28: *quo mortuo (Demetrio) tutelam filii eius Philippi suscepit Antigonus*. . . .

took place almost immediately after the death of Demetrius, that is, while Antigonus was *epitropos*, before he became king. Plutarch's vague participial clause is compatible with either Justin or Eusebius. Further consideration of this conflict between Justin and Eusebius may be deferred until the events of the interval have been considered.

## B

It is now necessary to examine the remainder of Justin's narrative (28, 3, 11-16):

*Interiecto deinde tempore cum seditione minaci Macedonum clausus in regia teneretur, in publicum sine satellibus procedit, [proiectoque] in vulgus sine diademate ac purpura dare eos alteri iubet, qui aut imperare illis nesciat aut cui parere ipsi sciant: se adhuc invidiosum illud regnum non voluptatibus, sed laboribus ac periculis sentire. Commemorat deinde beneficia sua: ut defectionem sociorum vindicaverit, ut Dardanos Thessalosque exultantes morte Demetrii conpescuerit, ut denique dignitatem Macedonum non solum defenderit, verum et auxerit. Quorum si illos paeniteat, deponere imperium et reddere illis munus suum quia regem quaerant, cui imperent. Cum populus pudore motus recipere eum regnum iuberet, tam diu recusavit, quoad seditionis auctores supplicio traderentur.*

From this passage it appears that the revolution in Macedonia occurred a certain period of time after (*interiecto deinde tempore*) the death of Demetrius. In the speech which Justin attributes to him, Antigonus mentions his victories over the Dardanians and Thessalians; these achievements therefore took place in the interval between Demetrius' death and the outbreak of the revolution. The death of Demetrius is to be placed in the spring of 229; the king was either killed in battle with the Dardanians or died very soon after his defeat.<sup>1</sup> Antigonus' first task on assuming the duties of *epitropos* was to liquidate the Dardanian menace. Macedonia had

<sup>1</sup> Polybius (2, 44, 2) says that Demetrius died *περί τήν πρώτην διάβασιν εἰς τήν Ἰλλυρίδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων*, which must have been early summer of 229; cf. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques*, Paris (1921), p. 102, and R.E.G., XLIII (1930), pp. 243 ff. Trogus in the Prologue to his twenty-eighth book has: *ut rex Macedoniae Demetrius sit a Dardanis fusus: quo mortuo tutelam filii eius sus-*

undergone almost ten years of uninterrupted warfare and had just suffered a major defeat in the field; it is therefore evident that the expulsion of the Dardanians must have demanded the entire resources of the nation and must also have taken some time. For these reasons the Dardanian campaign of Antigonos is to be placed in the summer and fall of 229.<sup>1</sup>

Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus also makes Antigonos recall his suppression of the revolt in Thessaly, and the Prologue to Book 29 speaks of Antigonos as *qui Thessaliam . . . subiecit*. Fine has recently dem-

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*cepit Antigonos*. To this Beloch (IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 531) says: "Dass diese Niederlage unmittelbar vor Demetrios' Tode erfolgt ist, ergibt sich aus den Worten des Prologs . . . keineswegs, da dort aus Demetrios' ganzen Regierung nur diese eine Tatsache erwähnt wird." One may grant that this sentence in itself does not *prove* that Demetrius was killed in battle or that he died immediately after his defeat, but it strongly suggests that such was the fact. The king's death was the signal for the collapse of Antigonid rule in Greece (cf. Polybius, 2, 44, 2-6, particularly section 3: οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μοναρχοὶ δυσελπιστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ μεταλλαχέναι μὲν τὸν Δημήτριον, and Plut., *Aratus*, 34); this means that on the news of Demetrius' death his adherents believed that no help would be forthcoming from Macedon. In other words, the king's death coincided with a crisis so severe that Macedonia could spare no troops or money to support her friends. The action of Diogenes, the Macedonian commander in the Piraeus, shows that he was confident that no help could come from Macedon. These facts are best explained by a close temporal connection between the defeat of the Macedonian army by the Dardanians and the death of the king.

Plutarch (*Aratus*, 34) says that the Athenians at the death of Demetrius sent for Aratus and that he came to Athens although another person was at that time *strategos* of the Achaean League. The generals entered upon their year of office toward the latter part of May (Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 220 ff.); Aratus, then, went to Athens before that time, and as the ultimate cause of his journey was the death of the Macedonian king, it is clear that Demetrius' death is to be placed in May or April of 229. Of the two, April is the more probable, as it gives sufficient time for the news to reach Athens, for the Athenians to appeal to Aratus, and for Aratus' journey to Athens. But Demetrius' death can hardly be placed before April without straining Polybius' statement that he died "about the time of the first crossing of the Romans to Illyria." Demetrius' defeat by the Dardanians and his death are therefore to be placed in April 229, the beginning of the campaigning season. The Roman crossing to Illyria would then be only about two months after Demetrius' death.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*Aratus*, 34), speaking of the period following immediately upon the death of Demetrius, says: Μακεδόνων ἀσχόλων ὄντων διὰ τινὰς προσοίκους καὶ ὁμόρους πολέμους - - -. This is sufficient evidence for Antigonos' Dardanian war, if any be needed to support Justin's statement.

onstrated that Antigonus III entirely recovered Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis,<sup>1</sup> and this implies, as Fine says,<sup>2</sup> a war with the Aetolian League. Additional proof that there was in fact such a war is given by a passage of Frontinus (*Strategemata*, 2, 6, 5): *Antigonus rex Macedonum Aetolis, qui in obsidionem ab eo compulsi fame urgebantur statuerantque eruptione facta commori, viam fugae dedit; atque ita infracto impetu eorum insecutus aversos cecidit*. The only other Antigonus "king of the Macedonians" is Gonatas, and Gonatas' relations with the Aetolian League were uniformly friendly;<sup>3</sup> there can be no question that the Antigonus mentioned in this passage is Antigonus III.<sup>4</sup> The incident reported by Frontinus would seem to refer to the end of the campaign, for the fact that the Aetolians were blockaded and suffering from hunger implies that they had already suffered defeats in the field. The resources of Macedonia at this time were strained to the utmost, and the Aetolians certainly had some support from the revolting Thessalians;<sup>5</sup> it is likely therefore that the war against the Aetolian League and the reconquest of Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis occupied at least the greater part of one campaigning year. It is obvious that the recovery of Thessaly must have followed the expulsion of the Dar-

<sup>1</sup> J. V. A. Fine, "The Problem of Macedonian Holdings in Epirus and Thessaly in 221 B.C.," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LXIII (1932), 126 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, *C. A. H.*, VII, p. 213, suggests that at the time of Pyrrhus' last occupation of Macedonia, 274-272, there was a "cleavage" between Gonatas and the Aetolian League. Very possibly the Aetolians came to an understanding with Pyrrhus, but certainly there was no war between Gonatas and the Aetolian League at any time. Justin, 24, 1, 3, referring to the period ca. 280, calls the Aetolians the allies of Gonatas, and in the last years of his reign the old king formed an alliance with the Aetolians for the partition of Achaea (Polyb., 2, 45, 1). Cf. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 214-215; *C. A. H.*, VII, pp. 217-218.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that Frontinus calls Antigonus *rex Macedonum* of course does not prove that Antigonus had already formally assumed the royal title. Frontinus' interest is only for the "stratagems" of his heroes and he cannot be expected to be exact on constitutional matters. Antigonus did in fact become "king of the Macedonians" and it is natural that he should be so called in Frontinus.

<sup>5</sup> Justin's statement that Antigonus subdued the Thessalians *exultantes morte Demetrii* and the reference to Antigonus as *qui Thessaliam . . . subegit* show that some at least of the Thessalians actively opposed Antigonus.



danians from Macedonia itself. Antigonus' Thessalian war is therefore to be placed in the campaigning season of 228.<sup>1</sup> The fall of 228 becomes, then, the *terminus post quem* for the revolution in Macedonia.

From Justin it is not clear whether Antigonus was still merely *epitropos* at the time of the outbreak of the revolution or whether he had already formally assumed the royal title. *Sine diademate ac purpura* would at first sight seem to indicate that Antigonus was already king, but in Antigonid Macedonia the wearing of the purple was not limited to the person of the king,<sup>2</sup> and it is simply not known whether an *epitropos* did or did not wear the diadem, the symbol of the royal office. This whole passage, however, is given by Justin largely because its subject matter suits the epitomator's impulse to rhetoric, and it is highly unlikely that Justin paid much attention to, still less comprehended, any details he may have found in Trogus. It may be granted that Justin seems to be writing on the assumption that Antigonus was king when the revolution broke out, but it can hardly be argued that Justin possessed any nice appreciation of Macedonian constitutional practice. This passage, then, is not to be considered conclusive evidence that Antigonus already held the royal title at the time of the revolution. Indeed the suggestion may be offered that Antigonus took the royal title immediately after, and as the result of, his successful suppression of the revolution. Further examination of this possibility may, for the present, be postponed. This much, however, appears: the fall of 228 may be considered the *terminus post quem* for the outbreak of the revolution in Macedonia.

### C

An inscription from the Athenian Agora gives a *terminus ante quem* for the assumption of the royal title by Antigonus and for the

<sup>1</sup> It is unthinkable that the reconquest of Thessaly took place in the winter of 229/8. Most of the important passes from Macedonia into Thessaly would be snow-covered, and communication by sea with Demetrias hazardous. Our fuller information for the reigns of Philip V and Perseus shows that major winter campaigns were quite exceptional. Furthermore, in the winter of 229/8 the Macedonian army must have desperately needed a rest.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Livy, 44, 26, 8: *mittit (Perseus) Antigonum ex purpuratis unum*.



recovery of Macedonia. It is a decree in honor of the philosopher Prytanis of Carystus, passed on the twenty-ninth of Metageitnion, on the twenty-seventh day of the prytany, in the archonship of Ergochares, that is, late September or early October 220 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Two *erasurae* show that there were references to the Antigonid house, and the date demands that the king be Antigonus III. The length of the first erasure (line 16) is given by Meritt as of ca. 22 letter spaces, and his proposed restoration [[*πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντιγόνου*]] exactly fits the space and is obviously correct. In line 19 there is an erasure of ca. 9 letter spaces: Meritt suggests [[*τὸν βασιλέα*]] or [[*Ἀντιγόνου*]]. Of the two the former is preferable since it fills the space of the erasure more exactly (8½ letter spaces as against 8 for *Ἀντιγόνου*), and is more in line with normal practice. By the autumn of 220, therefore, Antigonus III had taken the royal title.

The relevant portion of the decree runs as follows:<sup>2</sup> "Inasmuch as Prytanis, being well disposed to the Demos and . . . having been summoned by the Demos and having given himself unreservedly to the common service of the city, went abroad [to king Antigonus], reckoning neither toil nor any future danger nor considering any expense, but having come [to the king] and having discoursed on matters of public advantage without restraint (*μερὲ παρρησίας*) (exercising all zeal just as if on behalf of his own country) reported to the Demos concerning these things that at no time did he ever fail at all in zeal or what was suitable for the service of the Demos, . . . in order that the Demos may at all times appear as clearly mindful of those who have offered their services to it, . . . with good fortune be it resolved, etc."

The language of the decree, though characteristically vague, shows that in the fall of 220 Macedon was causing the Athenians to feel marked apprehension. The choice of Prytanis as ambassador is particularly significant: for Prytanis was a citizen of Carystus, a Euboean town under Antigonid rule, and was a very distinguished

<sup>1</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* IV (1933), pp. 323 ff. The year of Ergochares is fixed by his presence in the archon-list, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706; cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 218 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Meritt's translation, *op. cit.*, with a correction by L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LIX (1935), p. 436. On the same decree see also P. Roussel, *ibid.*, p. 320.

member of the Lyceum,<sup>1</sup> a school noted for its Macedonian sympathies.<sup>2</sup> By selecting Prytanis as their representative, the Athenians chose an ambassador who could be expected to receive a most courteous and sympathetic audience from the Macedonian king.<sup>3</sup> The exact nature of the services of Prytanis cannot be determined. But this much is clear: a situation had arisen which caused the Athenians to become anxious concerning the existing relations with Macedonia. They dispatched Prytanis to king Antigonos, and the philosopher presented the Athenian case with candor (*μετὰ παρρησίας*) and evidently accomplished the purpose for which he had been sent. The decree implies that by the autumn of 226 the recovery of Macedon was complete; the Antigonid monarchy had resumed its position as a great power.

What caused the Athenians to become apprehensive as regards Macedonia in the fall of 226? One might argue that the mere fact of the recovery of Macedon in itself caused the Demos to decide that it would be well to come to an understanding with Antigonos. But the decree implies that a specific situation had arisen, and it was because of this that Prytanis had been sent as ambassador to Antigonos. It may be suggested that the motivation of the embassy of Prytanis to the Macedonian king was the expedition of Antigonos to Caria.<sup>4</sup> The sources give no date for the Carian expedition, which has usually been placed in 227.<sup>5</sup> But this is difficult, for the revolution in Macedonia cannot have occurred until after the autumn of 228 (*supra*, p. 168) and the placing of the Carian expedition in the sailing season of 227, spring to autumn, demands that the revolution in Macedonia be placed in the winter of 228/7, which is in itself most unlikely and necessitates a crowding of

<sup>1</sup> Polybius (5, 93, 8) says of Prytanis: ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως.

<sup>2</sup> One need only recall the relations of the Peripatos with Macedon at the time of Antipater and Cassander. For the reign of Gonatas cf. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 331-332.

<sup>3</sup> On Prytanis see further pp. 124 ff. in the present volume.

<sup>4</sup> Prologue to Book 29 in Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus: *Antigonos qui . . . in Asia Cariam subiecit*; Polyb., 20, 5, 7-12. Polybius (20, 5, 11) speaks of the expedition as τὸν . . . πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 549; Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, pp. 722 and 752.

events. The Carian campaign of Antigonos III is best placed during the sailing season of 226.<sup>1</sup> The Macedonian fleet, as Polybios shows,<sup>2</sup> sailed down the Euripus past the Attic coast on its way to Caria. This naval demonstration in the Aegean must have brought home to the Athenians the necessity of coming to a definite understanding with Macedon as to their future relationship with that power.<sup>3</sup> In this connection the date of the decree for Prytanis, late September or early October, that is, the end of the sailing season, becomes most significant. Prytanis was sent to Antigonos as soon

<sup>1</sup> The possibility that the Carian expedition occurred before the revolution in Macedonia need not be seriously considered. Antigonos could hardly have undertaken a naval campaign abroad had there been a possibility of serious internal difficulties arising in Macedonia. Justin, moreover, in the speech which he attributes to Antigonos at the time of the revolution would surely have made Antigonos include the conquest of Caria among his *beneficia*, had it occurred before the revolution.

<sup>2</sup> 20, 5, 7-12; cf. Beloch, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 548.

<sup>3</sup> It is not known that the Athenians had any relations with Macedonia between the time of their revolt in the spring of 229 and the embassy of Prytanis. The fragmentary inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 833 of the year of Heliodorus, eleventh prytany, thus spring 228, has in line eleven: - - -] τοῦ βασιλέως Α[- - -, and in line twelve: - - -] τοὺς Α[ι]τῶλ[ους] - -. Line nine shows that the matters here referred to took place in the past (- - καὶ πρότερον ἐν παντί κ[αιρῶν] - -). Wilhelm ("Attische Urkunden," III Teil, *S.B.W.A.*, CCII [1925], pp. 58 ff.) restores in line eleven τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀ[ντιγόνου], which he takes to be Antigonos Gonatas.

Wilhelm has not considered the date of the document, but one would hardly expect a reference to an Antigonid king in an Athenian decree of the spring of 228, — just a year after the revolt from Macedon. If the reference be in fact to a king Antigonos, it must be to Gonatas, for line nine shows that it is a reference to past events. In the last years of his reign (*post* 243), Gonatas made an alliance with the Aetolians against the Achaean League, and it is to this that the decree may refer. Certainly this inscription cannot be taken as evidence that Antigonos III had become king by the spring of 228.

And there are other possibilities. In 241 the Spartan king Agis joined the Achaeans in a campaign against the Aetolians, though no battle took place (Beloch, IV<sup>1</sup>, p. 626). Alexander II of Epirus died soon after 240 (G. N. Cross, *Epirus* [Cambridge, 1932], pp. 124 ff.), and as the Aetolians in 239 were claiming the Epirot portion of Acarnania, it is possible that this inscription has to do with this situation. Attalus of Pergamum, moreover, entered into friendly relations with the Aetolian League at some unknown time prior to 219 (Holleaux, *Rome*, etc., p. 204 and note 2). It is therefore clear that the king mentioned in line eleven need not necessarily be a king Antigonos.



as the king returned from Asia; it is probable that he encountered Antigonos at Chalcis and there procured from him those assurances which the Demos was so anxiously awaiting. The decree for Prytanis fits perfectly with the placing of Antigonos' Carian expedition in the period spring to the autumn of 226, and no other known event gives motivation for an Athenian embassy to Antigonos at this time.<sup>1</sup>

Since Antigonos appears as king in the decree, it is obvious that he had already taken the royal title before undertaking the campaign in Caria. This shows that Antigonos had become king of Macedon by the spring of 226. Furthermore the Carian expedition proves that the internal difficulties in Macedonia had been solved before the beginning of the overseas campaign. The spring of 226 therefore becomes the *terminus ante quem* for the suppression of the revolution in Macedonia.<sup>2</sup>

## D

It is now convenient to examine further the problem stated at the end of section B (*supra*, p. 168): When did Antigonos cease to be *epitropos* and formally assume the royal title? The association of the decree for Prytanis with its historical context has shown that Antigonos was king by the spring of 226, and we may recall at this point the suggestion made above (p. 168), — that Antigonos became king at the time of his suppression of the revolution.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the relations of Ptolemy with Athens attested by a decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 838) passed seven days before the decree for Prytanis gave umbrage to Antigonos. Ptolemy's activity in Athens may have been provoked by the Carian expedition.

<sup>2</sup> The decree in honor of Prytanis has a chronological value which has not been noticed. Dinsmoor's scheme of chronology for the late third and for the early second century B.C. (*Archons*, ch. VIII, etc.) involves dating the archon Ergochares in 229/8. In fall 229, Antigonos had at best just finished the Dardanian campaign; Thessaly was in revolt and was not to be regained until the next year. It would be difficult to specify a reason why Athens, which had revolted from Antigonos in the spring of 229, should have chosen the fall of 229 as a time for resuming negotiations. The proper date historically, as we have seen, is 226/5. The decree for Prytanis is welcome as the first new document with persuasive chronological implications for the whole period 263/2–201/0; it substantiates Ferguson's scheme of cycles.

Light is thrown on this problem by an arithmetical error in Eusebius.<sup>1</sup> Eusebius states that Antigonus ruled Macedon for twelve years — ἐπιτροπεύσας ἐπ' ἔτη ιβ'; this is clearly wrong, for it is certain that Antigonus III in fact ruled for only nine years. The error is not to be dismissed as a manuscript corruption, for the Armenian version also gives twelve years for the reign of Antigonus.<sup>2</sup> The following sentence of Syncellus is apposite:<sup>3</sup> τοῦτου (Philippi) ἐπίτροπος Ἀντίγονος κατασταθεὶς ὁ Δημητρίου κρατεῖ Μακεδόνων ἔτη ιβ', κατὰ δὲ τὸν Διόδωρον ἔτη θ'. It is clear that the copy of Eusebius which Syncellus used also gave twelve years as the length of the reign of Antigonus III;<sup>4</sup> the honest monk found this to be in conflict with Diodorus, and so gave both versions.

The length of the reign of Antigonus III as given by Eusebius is not only wrong, but it conflicts with Eusebius himself, for in his list of the rulers of Thessaly, which is preserved in the Armenian version, Eusebius correctly assigns to Antigonus only nine years.<sup>5</sup> Moreover in his list of the kings of Macedon after Alexander, Eusebius gives the first year of the one hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad, 240 B.C., as the year of the death of Antigonus Gonatas. The year of the death of Antigonus III is given by Eusebius<sup>6</sup> as the fourth year of the one hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad, 221 B.C. Both these dates are correct. They give a nineteen-year interval between the death of Antigonus Gonatas and that of Antigonus III. The date of the death of Demetrius II is not stated, but Eusebius rightly says that he ruled for ten years. By then giving the length of the reign of Antigonus III as twelve years, Eusebius assigns twenty-two years to an interval which according to his own chronology is of only nineteen years. It is thus clear that Euse-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. E. Fontenrose, Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies, has helped us with this problem.

<sup>2</sup> Schoene, I, col. 239: *in tutoris munere annos (agens) duodecim*; Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 1206: "in der Verweserschaft 12 (?) Jahre." The interrogation is Jacoby's.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Dindorf, Bonn (1829), I, 267 B (p. 508).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Syncellus, 282 A (p. 535): Μακεδόνων ἰδ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Φοῦσκος ἔτη ιβ'.

<sup>5</sup> Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 1213.

<sup>6</sup> In the Armenian version only; this notice is not present in the Greek excerpts.



bius' error as to the duration of the reign of Antigonus III cannot be explained as an attempt on his part to bring order into a confused chronology by adding three extra years to the nine years of Antigonus III. Nor, as has been proved, can the twelve years assigned to Antigonus be dismissed as a scribal error.

The crux, then, is this: Eusebius had within his grasp the correct figure for the years of the rule of Antigonus, namely nine. His own data for Macedon, which were correct, should have indicated nine, and the Thessalian figure, nine, also was available to him.<sup>1</sup> He nevertheless settled upon twelve, an apparently unjustified addition of three years. This error of three years is the element which calls for explanation.

The appearance is that Eusebius found in his source or sources an item of three years in some connection so important that he was led to include it, despite the resultant discrepancy. His source, in other words, declared that for three years Antigonus was in some position of power so nearly identical with actual rule that, when the total rule of Antigonus came to be reckoned, those three years seemed to Eusebius to be a part which had to be included. The terms of the addition may be reconstructed thus: 3 years (as — ?) + 9 years (as *basileus*) = 12 years.

Now we have seen that, in common with ancient usage generally, Eusebius spoke of the entire period of rule by Antigonus as that of an *epitropos*. This provides a clue to the title left blank in the terms of the addition above. *Eusebius read in his source that Antigonus was epitropos for a period of three years.* Eusebius, who rightly thought of the whole reign as being an *epitropeia* (on Philip's behalf), in a general sense, took these three years to be a period additional to the nine-year period of the reign as a whole, which he found in another part of his sources. The original source, on the

<sup>1</sup> There was no opportunity for such an error in the Thessalian List, for Antigonus' position as head of the Thessalian League would not be affected by the change in his position from *epitropos* to king in Macedonia. Antigonus doubtless became head of the Thessalian League as soon as he suppressed the revolt and had expelled the Aetolians from Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis. Naturally the period of *de facto* independence (229–228) would receive no official recognition, and Antigonus would count his years as head of the Thessalian League as from the death of Demetrius II.

contrary, meant that for three years Antigonus was *epitropos* in the strict sense; in the sense, that is, of *not* being, again in a strict sense, *basileus*.<sup>1</sup>

We have already seen that our other sources do in fact report that at first Antigonus was *epitropos*, and not *basileus*, for a term of years, the extent of which we could determine by the decree for Prytanis as being three and a half years or less. This shows beyond a doubt that *epitropos* was the title which Eusebius seized upon in his source to include in his addition. By mistakenly adding three to nine, Eusebius has revealed to us that the term of years when Antigonus was *epitropos* was reckoned by his source as three.<sup>2</sup>

If this explanation be correct, the next problem is to determine whether the source of Eusebius agrees with the other data. Three full solar years from the death of Demetrius II, early spring of 229, extend to the spring of 226, which has been shown to be the *terminus ante quem* for the assumption of the royal title by Antigonus and for his suppression of the revolution (*supra*, p. 172). But it is not necessary that Antigonus should have been *epitropos* for *exactly* three years, and it is equally improbable that he should have put down the revolution and that he should have been proclaimed king immediately before starting on his expedition to Caria. It has been seen that the revolution in Macedonia must be placed after the autumn of 228 (*supra*, p. 168). That Antigonus was only proclaimed king some months *after* putting down the revolution is most unlikely; the suppression of the revolution and the assumption of the royal title are not to be dissociated. If in fact Antigonus became king in the summer or fall of 227, immediately after suppressing the revolution and as the consequence thereof, his proclamation as king would fall in the course of his third year as *epitropos*, and it would be natural to say that he had been *epitropos* for about three, or simply for three years.

The same result is obtained by considering the evidence in relation to the Macedonian calendar. The period from the death of

<sup>1</sup> The mode of statement in the source or sources may have been some confusing juxtaposition of a period of three years as *epitropos* with a loose statement about a *basileia* of nine years.

<sup>2</sup> The *basileia* of Antigonus was therefore, in a strict sense, of only six years' duration.

Demetrius II to the next first of Dios would be considered Antigonus' first year as *epitropos* even if in fact it did not amount to a full year. The period up to the following first of Dios, a full year, would be Antigonus' second year as *epitropos*, and his assumption of the royal title would fall in the third official year after the death of Demetrius.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Antigonus' *ἐπιτροπεία* was reckoned as approximately three years shows that the actual duration must have been at least two years plus an indeterminate number of months. For this reason the revolution and his proclamation as king are not to be placed before the spring of 227, for had he become king in the spring of 227 or the winter of 228/7, his *ἐπιτροπεία* would have been in fact only two years or less; hence three years would not have been given as the length of time during which Antigonus was *epitropos*. At least several months of the third year of the *ἐπιτροπεία* must have elapsed before Antigonus became king. There was necessarily a period of discontent and agitation leading up to the crisis, the crisis itself, then the suppression of the revolt and the restoration of public order. The *minax seditio Macedonum* clearly was an affair of some time, and there was certainly more to the disturbances in 227 than the single incident which Justin has condescended to describe. Three years as the extent of Antigonus' *ἐπιτροπεία* demand the placing of the suppression of the revolution and Antigonus' assumption of the royal title in the later part of the summer or autumn of 227.

This conclusion thus satisfactorily combines the three-year period of Antigonus' *ἐπιτροπεία*, derived from Eusebius, with the evidence of the other sources.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of the calendar in Macedonia during the third century, for there are no synchronisms with other calendars. In Egypt in this period the first of Dios apparently came in the late winter or early spring, March to April; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* (Cambridge, 1931), Appendix G, "The Macedonian Calendar in Egypt," pp. 471 ff. If the calendar in Macedonia was the same as in Egypt, which at present there is no way of knowing, the first of Dios 229 would have fallen within a very few weeks of the death of Demetrius and the beginning of Antigonus' *ἐπιτροπεία*. Antigonus' first year as *epitropos* would then have come within a few weeks of being a complete official year.

<sup>2</sup> The fact of the revolution is not surprising. Macedonia had experienced over ten years of uninterrupted warfare, a major defeat in the field, and the ravages of the

## E

It is now possible to return to the problem of the time of Antigonus' marriage to Chryseis (*supra*, p. 164). Eusebius states that the marriage took place at the time of Antigonus' assumption of the royal title, while Justin seems to indicate that Antigonus married Chryseis soon after the death of Demetrius, that is, while he was still *epitropos*. Of the two sources Eusebius is certainly the more trustworthy, because his professed intention is chronology and genealogy; it is to be expected that he should be more exact than the rhetorical Justin. As between the two, the presumption must be that Eusebius, not Justin, gives the correct version.

Further examination of the evidence supports Eusebius. It would be most extraordinary for an *epitropos* to marry the mother of his ward.<sup>1</sup> The office of *epitropos* by definition was limited to the duration of the minority or incapacity of the ward, and neither the position of the *epitropos*, as such, nor the rights of the ward would be in any way strengthened by the marriage of the *epitropos* to the ward's mother. Antigonus III moreover, alone of Macedonian kings, was known as the *epitropos* even during the period in which he was in fact king. Clearly there was something about Antigonus' position as king of Macedon which was thought to be exceptional.

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Dardanian invasion. In addition there was the example of triumphant federalism in old Greece, a movement avowedly antimonarchical. Under such circumstances there must have been popular dissatisfaction, and it is understandable that these feelings should have sought political expression. The fact that the heir of the late king was a minor who could be thought to be of equivocal parentage may well have been a contributing factor. It is understandable that the Macedonians should have loyally served the *epitropos* for the campaigns which expelled the Dardanians and regained Thessaly, for this was a crisis which concerned the well-being of the Macedonians themselves. After the crisis had been successfully surmounted the Macedonians would have the opportunity to give voice to their feelings of discontent.

<sup>1</sup> The only known instance is the marriage of Ptolemy Alorites to Eurydice, the mother of his ward Perdiccas III; Aeschines, *Περὶ Παραπρεσβείας*, 29; *Scholia ad Aeschinem*, *op. cit.*, 32 (ed. Dindorf [Oxford, 1852], p. 47, ll. 18-19). This, however, is the exception that proves the rule, for Ptolemy became *epitropos* because of his murder of the reigning king Alexander II, and the reason both for his becoming *epitropos* and for his marriage to Eurydice was his desire to strengthen his position in Macedonia and to give his usurpation some semblance of legality.



What this was is obvious. Though he was king of the Macedonians, Antigonos, by his marriage to Chryseis and his subsequent adoption of Philip,<sup>1</sup> had assured Demetrius' son of the succession. Whatever the position of Chryseis and Philip may have been during the lifetime of Demetrius II, they were now respectively the wife and son of the reigning king; the legitimacy of their position had become unassailable. Antigonos was known to his contemporaries and to posterity as Antigonos the *Epitropos* because, although king in his own right, he was preserving the succession for the son of Demetrius.

Eusebius says that it was the Macedonians who caused Antigonos to marry Chryseis: οἱ Μακεδόνες . . . τὴν Χρυσήδα αὐτῷ (Antigonos) ἤρμωσαν. Plutarch gives the same version: οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων . . . συνοικίσαντες αὐτῷ (Antigonos) τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Φιλίππου. . . . There is no reason to doubt the truth of these statements. The Macedonians caused Antigonos to marry Chryseis at the time of their proclamation of him as king. Thus the succession was not only made safe for Philip but at the same time he became the son of the reigning king. While Antigonos was only *epitropos* there was no reason for him to marry Chryseis, but if he became king there would arise the possibility that he might have sons of his own who could lay claim to the succession. By causing Antigonos to marry Chryseis and thus to become the stepfather of Philip, the Macedonians removed this difficulty. Furthermore it is to be noted that Antigonos just before his death wrote a statement for the Macedonians in which he gave an accounting of his administration;<sup>2</sup> this implies that Antigonos considered his reign to have been essentially that of a trustee.

This discussion shows that Antigonos' marriage to Chryseis must be placed in close conjunction with his acclamation as king. Eusebius' dating of the marriage is therefore clearly correct.<sup>3</sup> Antigonos III married Chryseis in the late summer or fall of 227 at the time of his proclamation as king by the Macedonians.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polyb., 4, 24, 7, where Philip speaks of Antigonos as his father; also 4, 87, 6 and Justin, 29, 1, 2: *mortuo Antigono tulore eodemque vitrico*.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., 4, 87, 7: ἀπολιπὼν γὰρ διαθήκην ἔγραφε Μακεδόσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκημένων.

<sup>3</sup> F. Hampl (*Gnomon*, XII [1936], pp. 40-41) has seen that Antigonos' marriage to Chryseis is to be placed at the time of his assumption of the royal title.



The resulting chronology is as follows: —

229

April:

Defeat of the Macedonians by the Dardanians.

Death of Demetrius II.

Antigonus, the son of Demetrius the Fair, becomes *epitropos* and *strategos*.

Spring to autumn:

Expulsion of the Dardanians.

228

Spring to autumn:

War with the Aetolians: Antigonus defeats the Aetolians and regains Hestiaeotis and Thessaliotis.

227

Summer:

Revolutionary disturbances in Macedonia.

Late summer or autumn:

Antigonus suppresses the revolution.

The Macedonians proclaim Antigonus king.

Antigonus marries Chryseis.

226

Spring to autumn (the sailing season):

Antigonus' naval expedition to Caria.

September:

The Athenians send Prytanis as ambassador to Antigonus.

225 (early)

Initial negotiations of the Achaean League with Antigonus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We here adopt the date given by Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VII, p. 756). F. W. Walbank (*Aratos of Sicyon*, Cambridge [1933], pp. 191–192), following A. Ferrabino (*Il problema della unità nazionale della Grecia. I. Arato di Sicione*, Florence [1921], pp. 260 etc.), advocates 229 as the time of Aratus' first overtures to Antigonus. This is not the place for a full examination of Polybius' confused presentation of the events leading up to the war between Antigonus III and Cleomenes; but one new and, we think, important consideration is relevant. Polybius 2, 49 gives the out-

line of the representations made at Aratus' instance by his emissaries Nicophanes and Cerdicas to Antigonus at the time of Aratus' first appeal to the Macedonian king. Among the arguments which, according to Polybius, Aratus had enjoined his representatives to employ, and which they did in fact urge upon the king, was the suggestion that it would be far better for Antigonus to oppose Cleomenes in the Peloponnesus with the aid of the Achaeans *and Boeotians* than later to be forced to face the Spartan in Thessaly when Cleomenes would have under his command the Aetolians, Achaeans, and Boeotians (2, 49, 6). From this it is clear that Polybius is writing on the assumption that, at the time of the first appeal of Aratus to Antigonus, the Macedonian king could count on the support of the Boeotians, and hence that the relations between Boeotia and Macedon were friendly. But from Polybius 20, 5, 7-11 it is evident that at the time of Antigonus' expedition to Asia the relations between Macedonia and Boeotia were hostile. It is therefore obvious that the appeal to Antigonus must be dated sometime *after* the king's expedition to Caria, that is, according to the dating given in this paper, sometime after the summer of 226; or, according to the previous dating of the Carian expedition, after the summer of 227.

## "TUSCA ORIGO RAETIS" <sup>1</sup>

BY JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

### I

LIVY says that the Raeti were of Etruscan *origin*. I say that they were not. The place in Livy is 5.33.11. When I am accused of omitting to mention it, the accusation is false; see *C.Q.*, 17 (1923) p. 71, where I quoted the passage at length, *Glotta* 22 (1933-34), p. 28, and also *P.I.D.* ii, p. 4, where I discussed it at length. What does this passage in Livy amount to? Nothing at all. Here it is once more:

Alpinis quoque ea (sc. Tusca) gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae nec eum incorruptum retinerent.

This is a mere *ipse dixit*. It is an assertion on the part of Livy. And on what evidence? Livy says explicitly that there was not a trace of their alleged Etruscan origin about the Alpine tribes "maxime Raetis," "praeter sonum linguae nec eum incorruptum," not a thing except "sonum linguae" (whatever he may have meant by that), and that

<sup>1</sup> See *J.R.S.* 26 (1936), p. 134. But contrast the other reviews of *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* (a complete list): *Times Lit. Suppl.* Thursday 6 Sept. 1934, p. 605 (anon.), *A. J. Ph.* 56 (1935), pp. 79-83 (E. H. Sturtevant), *C. P.* 30 (1935), p. 94 (C. D. Buck), *Language* 12 (1936), pp. 213-221 (G. M. Bolling), *Indogerm. Forsch.* 53 (1935), pp. 63-72, 307-310, to be continued (H. Krahe), *Glotta* 23 (1935), pp. 196-197 (E. Vetter; cf. id., Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Suppl. Bd. vi, 1935, p. 308), *Revue des Études anciennes* 36 (1934), pp. 421-425 (A. Cuny), *Bull. de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 35 (1935), pp. 66-67 (E. Benveniste), *Philol. Woch.* 55 (1935), pp. 681-683 (E. Hermann), *Rivista Indo-gr.-ital.* 18 (1934), pp. 103-114 (F. Ribezzo), *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* 63 (1936), pp. 263-270 (J. B. Hofmann). From all of these others something may be learnt; nothing can be learnt from the inaccuracies and misunderstandings which one and the same reviewer has displayed in *C.R.* 48 (1934), pp. 183-184, and in *J.R.S.* 26 (1936), pp. 133-134. It is not necessary to defend the dead against an attack; to the earlier attempt to vilify *P.I.D.* ii (1933), the courtesy of a reply was granted me in *C.R.* 49 (1935), p. 45. The editor of *J.R.S.* informs me that it is the "established practice" of its Editorial Committee not to grant such a courtesy.

"corruptum." Such is Livy's "evidence," God save the mark! We are even instructed to halt all further investigation or enquiry here. Livy has spoken: enough. But why? For this is the way of a man who will not be troubled further. Unless we accept Livy's word without question, it will be necessary to read the evidence, to study it, and to think about it. What could be more distasteful? Even though the evidence has been collected and classified already by someone else.

If someone else is rash enough to disagree with Livy, then contradict him, but do not attempt to reason. Better still, say that he has omitted to mention Livy. Most readers will be too obtuse to observe, or too indifferent to remember, that he expressly disagrees with Livy, and therefore must have mentioned him.

Now I disagree with Livy on this point. I say that the Raeti were not of Etruscan *origin*. And I have evidence for my view. But I have never at any time or in any place said that their speech was not affected by the Etruscan language.

Let us review the evidence.

(1) If appeal is to be made to the testimony of the ancients at all, then their testimony must be considered entire. Fraser might have cited Pliny to back up Livy. Pliny 3.133:

Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto.

He might have done still better by himself and quoted Pompeius Trogus (ap. Justin. 20.5):

Tusci quoque duce Raeto auitis sedibus amissis Alpes occupauere et ex nomine ducis gentem Raetorum condiderunt,

for Trogus at least is contemporary with Livy. But what does Pliny give us? Mere hearsay ("arbitrantur") and an eponymus but mythical "dux Raetus." Pliny gives us no such authority as he gives, for example, in his very next sentence; his *arbitrantur* proclaims his own scepticism, and if he did not actually use Trogus he probably used the same source or sources as Trogus; note *duce Raeto* in both compilers. And if Trogus was of Gallic descent, at least both Livy and Pliny had equal opportunities of learning Cisalpine tradition at Padua and at Como. But it is Pliny, who was the more careful and painstaking, who is also the more cautious about alleged Etruscan origin of Alpine

peoples. Trogus we know only in the epitome of Justin. Neither he nor Pliny nor Livy had trustworthy information about prehistoric Italy, or even about Italy in the fifth century B.C., and it is the prehistoric Italy about which Livy wrote so glibly with which we have to deal. As for Livy, who is notoriously inaccurate in his account of the Gallic invasion of Italy, he stands convicted out of his own mouth (1.1.2): it was the Euganei originally

qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant.

But if that is so the “gentes Alpinae” cannot have been originally or solely Etruscan. Livy unquestionably is right when he says that the Etruscans of Cisalpine Gaul came from south of the Apennines, not the Etruscans of Etruria from Cisalpina, still less from north of the Alps. But we shall see presently that they never even reached the Alps except as scattered and broken fugitives, in Livy’s words,

quos ipsa loca efferarunt.

Mommsen in his thirties spoke in more scholarly fashion than Mommsen of the *History of Rome* when he said:<sup>1</sup>

Dass die Sprache der Veneter von der keltischen verschieden sei, sagt Polybius (2, 17); dass sie sich im Allgemeinen des auch in Etrurien gebräuchlichen Alphabets bedienten, zeigen unsere Steine; allein dass ihre Sprache die etruskische gewesen sei, ist zwar möglich, aber bis jetzt vollkommen unbewiesen und wird durch eine freilich nur oberflächliche Betrachtung der Inschriften eher widerlegt als bestätigt. Dasselbe gilt in noch höherem Mass von den transalpinischen Inschriften. Es liegt nichts näher als dieselben in Verbindung zu bringen mit der bekannten Angabe des Livius, dass die Räter Etrusken seien und ein verdorbenes Etruskisch noch in der augusteischen Zeit redeten; ich will dem nicht widersprechen, aber abgemacht ist die Frage durch die Auffindung einer dem tuskischen Alphabet verwandten rätischen Schrift noch *keineswegs*, so lange nicht der Identität der Idiome dargethan ist.

Of the Raetic idiom I shall speak presently. For there is ancient testimony that is altogether in conflict with Livy’s. Even Pliny (3.134), after quoting his bit of hearsay, goes on to assign the Trumplini and Camunni, who certainly lived in Raetic territory, to the Euganei, apparently unaware that this assignment is inconsistent with

<sup>1</sup> *Mitt. d. antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zürich* 7 (1853), p. 230.



his previous assertion. Strabo (4.206 C) calls the Raetic tribes of the Genauni and Breuni Illyrians, and Horace (*Od.* 4. 14) thought that they were Vindelican, that is Keltic. Horace has as much right to be heard in this matter as Livy; Livy had a theory to maintain, but at least Horace had no historical axe to grind, and Strabo is a safer guide than either. Next Zosimus (1.52)

ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ 'Ραιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικὰ τάγματα

is quoted here only to complete the record. I make no apology for repeating this record. To any archaeologist or linguist it is not indispensable. Fraser, however, thinks Livy's testimony more significant than the rest; he belittles the rest or suppresses it entirely. Thereby he misrepresents the ancient testimony, and renders his judgement futile. No partial testimony, ancient or modern, is worth anything. The ancient testimony is not altogether worthless if it is properly used. Has Mr. Fraser even begun to understand how to use it? Is not his method abuse rather than use?

(2) Over ten years ago I saw that the question of Raetic *origins* could not be answered by all our available ancient testimony alone, not if it were multiplied by ten and pondered for a century by a multitude of historians or philologists. Accordingly, not being content, as my accuser is, with an *ipse dixit* of Livy's, I began to study another kind of evidence, the archaeological. After assembling the facts as far as they were accessible in published records, I proceeded to study the actual archaeological remains as they are collected in the public museums of Italy, especially (for the Etruscans) at Bologna and Florence, and (for the Raeti) at Trent, Sondrio, Bolzano, Asiago, Verona, Este, Padua, and, across the frontier, in the great collections at Innsbruck. I further took the precaution of consulting a more expert observer.

On 27 August 1925 Dr. Randall-MacIver wrote to me as follows in the course of a long letter:

Leaving apart all literary references, including the famous passage of Livy as to the boundaries of the Etruscans in Augustan days, I should say that there is not the slightest evidence of a racially Etruscan population north of the Bolognese district, where as you know the Etruscan colony of Bologna (Felsina) dates from the end of the 6th century. Previous to the 6th century there is little if any trace of Etruscan art or culture anywhere in north Italy. From that time onwards however it is visible everywhere, as a permeating

influence due to commerce. You put it very correctly in your statement. *True* Etruscan finds are exceedingly rare, almost non-existent north of Felsina. Etruscan objects however are very common from the 6th century onwards, and there is a very lively trade from the year 500, especially in Lombardy and the Italian lakes where there was a much used commercial road passing through Bellinzona, by which Etruscan (and actual Greek) manufactures were passed up the Rhine into France, Switzerland, Belgium, and even occasionally Great Britain (or at least Ireland). But the objects are sporadic, it is seldom that even any one group of unmixed character can be detected, and even then the evidence of all the surrounding graves shows that it is a predominantly *non*-Etruscan population. In the west the population may have been Ligurian, in the east it was Atestine (i.e. perhaps Illyrian but certainly not Etruscan) and the Atestines formed a solid block, always independent and never politically subject to the Etruscans. In the centre, the line of the Brenner and the Trentino proper, what little we do know is in consonance with what I have said above. There is some evidence in the character of the Alpine figured situlae. These are all a distant echo, not at all a direct reproduction of Etruscan work. They are originally inspired by such models as the true Etruscan situla of the Certosa, but in my view they are not only much later (that is generally admitted), but they are almost burlesque versions of the Etruscan, the *spirit* is totally un-Etruscan. My opinion, to put it briefly, is that there never were any *Etruscans* living near enough to the Alps to be driven up there by invading Gauls. The Etruscans were never at all numerous. The bulk of the Etruscan nation was Etruscanized Italian.

Consequently it is impossible to imagine that more than a few dozen true-blooded Etruscans found their way up into the Alps, but it is of course conceivable that there were migrations, whether involuntary, or under the terror of invasion, of Etruscanized Umbrians (or whatever the native Italian people of the Trentino may have been). And what they spoke may have influenced to some extent the language of the Alpine valleys. It is possible to imagine that the Brenner served as a trade-route up into the Tyrol. This would justify, if it is worth justifying, Livy's sweeping statement.

Briefly, then, I should be quite willing to regard the Raeti as Etruscanized, perhaps at second-hand, but quite unwilling, unless new evidence can be produced, to regard them as Etruscan by blood and race.

How different is this reasoned statement of an expert archaeologist from the Hibernically wild assertions of a student of Gaelic! Randall-MacIver has put his views into print, more briefly, in his book *The Etruscans*.<sup>1</sup> A "plausible theory," he there writes (with Livy 5.33.11, before him),

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, 1927. The quotations which follow are on pp. 10 and 11. The italics are mine.

which was generally held through the nineteenth century, and has only recently been exploded by archaeological research, was that of the great German historian Niebuhr. He supposed that some traces of the Etruscan language still lingered in the valleys of the Eastern Alps, and *in spite of Livy's direct statement that the people of those valleys were degenerate fugitives who had gone wild in their savage surroundings*, he maintained that they were the surviving descendants of an original invading army which had come over the Alps in prehistoric days.

Now the theory that merely holds the Raeti to have been originally Etruscans who had come from the south is not the same theory as Niebuhr's. It is, however, open to the same objections, and, as Randall-MacIver continues (*loc. cit.*):

there are such numerous objections of every kind to this view, it is so inadequate to explain any of the facts, and rests with on such a flimsy foundation of philological hypothesis that it is surprising to find that it has been so widely accepted. Fortunately it has been positively disproved by explorations made in and around Bologna, which was the site of the Etruscan city of Felsina. It has been shown that Felsina, the principal town of the whole region, was not founded until the end of the sixth century B.C., and that nowhere north of the Apennines is there a single Etruscan colony of any earlier date.

Again (*op. cit.*, p. 132):

Livy speaks [5.33.9] of 'Etruria circumpadana' as composed of twelve colonies, corresponding to the twelve cities of the Etruscan confederation south of the Apennines, *but they have not been traced, and there are some doubts whether they ever existed*;

and (*op. cit.*, p. 142):

it is absurd to force Livy's words into a statement that there was an Etruscan empire stretching from the Alps [sc. southwards].

The fact is that no trace of any Etruscan refugees, much less of any Etruscan settlement or settlements, in the Alpine valleys has ever been found. My case is not weakened because the material remains of the Raeti, scanty as they are, come chiefly from the southern slopes of the Alps. Rather the contrary; for it is on the south side of the Alps, if anywhere, that such remains should show Etruscan features if Etruscans ever took refuge there. But such is not the case.

The southern Raeti, who lived within the boundaries of Augustan Venetia, occupied the valleys of the Eisack (Isarcus), of the upper (alto) Adige, and of their tributaries, as far south as Verona, and the valley of the Adda westwards as far south as the point at which that river enters lake Como. But it is perfectly clear that any explanation of their material remains as Venetic, still more as Etruscan, is quite wrong. The fragments of bronze situlae show ornamentation that can be regarded as nothing more than a mere travesty of Certosan type. And undoubtedly exports from Este of the third Atestine period reached the valley of the Adige and its tributaries above Trent. But the discoveries at Vadena have a wider range in time, showing materials comparable with the Villanovan, from the first Benvenuti period until they break off at the Gallic period, and, as Orsi<sup>1</sup> showed long ago, are fundamentally related with those on Italian soil, succeeded by a light superimposed layer of quasi-Etruscan remains. There is even a late lingering of terramara-types. What has been described as a well-preserved pile-structure, of much later date than the *terremare*, has been discovered at Collalbo, and it would appear that there was a late survival of kindred of the *terramaricoli* and of their type of dwelling (though not a terramara) in that remote Alpine settlement. Most of the objects so far recorded from San Zeno, Dercolo, and from the Val di Cembra, Seben, and elsewhere are mere scattered and sporadic finds. It is definitely certain, however, so far as the Trentino and Alto Adige are concerned (that is so far as concerns the area whence come all our Raetic inscriptions, except the western or Sondrio group), that they have produced no evidence whatsoever to warrant any theory or belief that the Raeti who lived there were Etruscans in any sense. North of Trent Etruscan “finds” are not only much later in date than those of Bologna, they are also exceedingly rare and are never from complete tomb-groups but are mere “strays”—isolated, imported objects.

I agree with the accepted judgement of competent archaeologists: “die frühern Hypothesen der etruskischen oder der keltischen Herkunft der Räter müssen also endgültig fallen gelassen werden.”<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> In *Archivio per l'Alto Adige* 4 (1909); cf. 23 (1928), pp. 109 ff. and *Annuario d. Soc. dei Alpini Tridentini* 9 (Rovertò, 1883).

<sup>2</sup> See *Jahresbericht der schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, 25 (1933), p. 81; cf. pp. 79–80.



becoming steadily clearer from the archaeological evidence that non-Italic remains of the Raeti, by no means Etruscan, are neither Venetic nor Keltic, but Illyrian. G. von Merhart, in his important articles published in 1926 and 1927,<sup>1</sup> has advanced weighty arguments in favour of this explanation. His views, I know,<sup>2</sup> have been disputed. But it is not disputed, save by the ignorant, that the pre-Roman inhabitants of the Raetic Alpine valleys were not Etruscan in *origin*. Livy's assertion, therefore, on this point of *origin*, is worthless and may be discarded. It is disproved archaeologically.

(3) Next there is the evidence of toponymy. I have collected elsewhere the proper names of the Raeti.<sup>3</sup> The name of the *Raeti* themselves von Planta<sup>4</sup> has shown to be a regular Italic formation from the gentile name *Raius* which is Venetic (*P.I.D.* i, item VII B), compare (gens) *Raecia* (Ven., Tab. Vel., ib. XIX c), *Raeconia* (Histria, III c), *Raiena* (Ven., VII c), and the cognomina *Raetus* (Ven., VIII c), *Raeticianus* (Ven., Raet., VIII c, XXVI. 2); (gens) *Raielia* (Lig., near Antibes, *C.I.L.* 12.218), *Reii* (Lig., Holder ii. 1114), *Reticius* (ib., 1178). The Germanic and Dalmatian forms *mons Retico*, 'Ρατρινον (see *P.I.D.* i, p. 443) lead us away from, not towards, Etruria, where the gentile name *reithvi*, *retui* (*C.I.E.* 8567) may indeed be connected, but where 'Ρασέννα, *rasna* certainly is not. But even if *reithvi* (*retui*, *retua*), which is the closest comparable form to *Raetus* that Etruscan inscriptions have to offer, stands for \**rail-ui* (-ua), as Herbig was inclined, though doubtfully, to believe,<sup>5</sup> and is to be identified with *Raetus*, it by no means follows that the Raeti were Etruscans. On such reasoning the *Romani* themselves were Etruscans!

Other Raetic names are demonstrably Italic and Indo-European. The river-names *Isarcus* (Eisack; cf. the ethnicon *Isarci*) and 'Ισάρας (*Isar*) like the Ligurian *Isara* and the Calabrian *Aesarus* (fl.) and the

<sup>1</sup> *Wiener Prähist. Zeitschr.* vols. 13, 14; see also Menghin in the same journal, 11 (1924); and in *Mitt. d. anthrop. Gesellsch. Wien*, 41 (1911), pp. 297-322.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Foundations of Roman Italy*, London, 1937, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *P.I.D.* i, pp. 440-459 ('dieses Kapitel in Hinsicht wissenschaftlicher Benutzbarkeit viel besser durchgearbeitet als die übrigen' [sc. in Vol. i], Krahe, *I.F.*, 53.310).

<sup>4</sup> *Das vorröm. Raelien, sprachl. betrachtet*, in *Prähist. Zeitschr.* 20 (1929), pp. 285-287; and *Jahresb. d. schw. Gesellsch. f. Urgesch.* 22 (1930), pp. 55-56.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.E.* 8567.



Umbrian *Aesis* (fl.) are connected with the Oscan *aisos* 'di' or 'deos,' Marrucian *esos*, Osc. *aisusis* 'sacrificiis,' Umb. *esōno-* 'sacrificium,' *erus* 'magmentum' (Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 305), Volsc. *esaristrom* 'sacrificium,' *Aesernia*, Greek *ἱερός*, Skt. *iśirā-* 'powerful.' As a river-name it is appropriate; the purifying function of flowing water is everywhere recognized. If the word *aisol*, *aesar* was really used by the Etruscans, then "they had borrowed it from their neighbours."<sup>1</sup> Coins of Croton have *αισαπος*, we have also a Messapic *ισαπετι* (*P.I.D.*, no. 568.2) and an Illyrian *iser* (*P.I.D.*, ii, p. 612), and 'East Italic' *i/airon* may be connected; *Ἰστρος* (*Hister*) probably is, for *-str-* is a regular Germanic development from *-sr-*.

Beside the Raetic *Venostes*, *Vennum*, *Vennonetes*,<sup>2</sup> *Venosta Vallis* we may set the Venetic *Veneti*, Latian *Venetulani* and the non-Etruscan *Venetus Lacus*, *Venedi* (Germany), *Veneti* (Gaul). The Brenner pass is *Ἀπ<π>έννινον ὄρος* in Strabo, and that is not Etruscan, but Italic or Keltic. *Ocra mons* is Indo-European, as Kretschmer has shown.<sup>3</sup> *Ambra mansio* goes with *Ambrones* if not with *Ὀμβροί, Umbri*. *Δαμασία*, the capital of the Raetic *Licates* is Illyrian (*Damastion*), *Βριγάντιον* is Keltic, *Sabini* is Italic. These are but a few examples out of many such.

Likewise the formative elements of Raetic local names are Indo-European, e.g. *Ambi-*(*sones*), *-nt-* (*Tridentum*), *-st-* (*Venostes*), *-sc-* (*Rugusci*). Stolz, Walde, Herbig, von Planta, and many others have long recognized the manifest Illyrian elements of Raetic toponymy. The recent study made by Pokorny<sup>4</sup> of the distribution of Illyrian names in Central Europe shows clearly how Raetic territory is the very meeting place of the Keltic and Illyrian linguistic streams. The element *-ua* in the Raetic names *Addua*, *Berua*, *Ver-ua-sses* has been identified as Illyrian by von Blumenthal,<sup>5</sup> but it seems to me to be more widely spread than that. Beside *Meduacus*, *Breduva*, and the very frequent *-oa* (i.e. *-ua*?) of Messapic local names (e.g. *daranθoa*), we have *Μοῦνη*, *Butua*, *Mesua*, *Genua*, *Capua*, *Padua*, *Nantuates*, *Atuatusi* and others. But there is in these names good reason against counting *-ua* in *Mantua*

<sup>1</sup> Conway, *Italic Dialects* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> For these and other Raetic names see *P.I.D.* iii, Index II.

<sup>3</sup> *Glotta* 21 (1932), p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 22 (1935), 314 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesych-Studien* (1930), p. 14; cf. *P.I.D.* i, p. 445, n. 2; ii, p. 568.

as Etruscan, even if *Mantus* was, as Servius reports (*Aen.* 10.200), an Etruscan word.

I do not deny, however, that there is something in Raetic toponymy that is Etruscan. The name of the *pagus Arusnatum* (near Verona) appears to be Etruscan (*arušni*), and perhaps also the divine name *Cuslanus* (cf. Etruscan *culšanš*?). But such quasi-Etruscan names are a small minority, and von Planta<sup>1</sup> wisely refused "so wenig . . . aus solchen Gründen die Räter selbst als Etrusker betrachten" as to reckon them Kelts on the strength of names like *Brigantia*. He and other scholars know that the non-Etruscan elements are far more conspicuous, among them the Illyrian. He continues:

Die nächsten Sprachverwandten der Räter sind wahrscheinlich bei jenem Völkerkreis zu suchen, der sich auf der Südseite der Alpen von Ligurischen her ostwärts bis zum Illyrischen zog. . . . Das *Illyrische* gliedert sich . . . diesem Kreise an, wie denn das illyrische *-st-* suffix (*Tergeste* = Trieste) sich im Oberinntal in *Umbiste* = Imst, im Vorarlberg in *Frastenestum* = Frastanz, in Graubünden in *Andest* und *Piest* wiederfindet. Auch andere Ortsnamen weisen in diese Richtung, z.B. *Nauders* rom. *Danuder* = '*Inutrium*' zu *Nutria* in Illyrien, *Vrin* im Lugnez zu *Virunum* . . . , *Trün*, *Trins* bei Flims zu *Taurünnum*.

(4) Finally I come to the Raetic inscriptions themselves. I begin by pointing out that there are some Etruscan features in these. In particular we have the genitive singular ending in *-al*, e.g. *esiael* (*P.I.D.*, no. 252), *esia-l* (253). But this occurs also in Lepontic (*ualaul*) 255, and no one will claim Lepontic as Etruscan. In fact the *-al* ending is generally extended in Lepontic as *-ala* (fem.) or *-alo-* (masc.), e.g. *uerkalai* and *piuotialui* (269). Modern Greek in Asia Minor has borrowed endings from non-Indo-European sources but remains an Indo-European language; modern English has a French plural in *-x* in French words (*beaux*), but it remains a Germanic language. Now only two Raetic inscriptions show the *-al* ending, namely *P.I.D.*, nos. 252, 253. They are both from Sondrio, and the ending occurs in a name which is Etruscan (*esi*) as well as Latin (*Aesius*), like the French *-x* in *beaux*. But there are sixty-eight Raetic inscriptions, and are we to reckon them all Etruscan on this evidence? The Sondrio group of western Raetic beyond all question shows stronger Etruscan influence

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 188 *supra*.

than the rest, but even there the name *lepalial*, though it has the Etruscan *-al* ending, is not itself Etruscan:

Den Stamm von *lepalial* finden wir wieder in dem Namen der *Lepontii* selbst (Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.* i, 1885, p. 98).

The syncope which is so characteristic a feature of Etruscan not even the Sondrio texts can show. In the other Raetic inscriptions we find that the *-al* ending is *consistently modified* by the addition of *-e* to form a 'casus rectus,' e.g. *lašanuale* (*P.I.D.*, no. 191 a). This name itself may be compared with Illyrian *Laso*, *Lassonia*, *Lasinius*,<sup>1</sup> and also with Messapic *lassinaor* and with Raetic *laseke*, and this last with Venetic *lassik(o)*. The process, even if *-e* is identical with *-e* of the Etruscan 'casus rectus,' which is possible and likely enough, is comparable with the consistent *-ala*, *-alos* of Lepontic. The Etruscan *-le*, a diminutive suffix, is not at all the same thing; note such forms as *cezale*, *tite*, *larile*, *satlna*, *rutlni*, *letnle*, *fasle* (beside *fašei*), *zušle*. It can even be added to the genitive in *-s*; e.g. *venzile alfnalisle* ("of the son of Alfnei").<sup>2</sup> In fact words ending in *-ale* are rare in Etruscan and are probably to be analysed *-a-le*, whereas they are numerous in Raetic and are certainly to be analysed *-al-e*. Nevertheless, as Pedersen has proved,<sup>3</sup> the Lepontic names contain the Etruscan *-al* with a patronymic, or originally patronymic, force. Others have taken the same view, for example, von Planta, and indeed the fact was recognized by Pauli. But Lepontic is so manifestly Indo-European that no suggestion of taking it as Etruscan has ever been breathed.

As von Planta puts it,<sup>4</sup> we have to deal with Etruscan influence that is feeble in the Lepontic area (where the archaeological evidence shows clearer Etruscan traits than in the east), but an influence that is more marked in the Trentino, so that

im Trentino, nebst Magrè in den vicentinischen Alpen, möchte man teilweise an eine südrätisch-etruskische Mischsprache, bei einigen Stücken vielleicht direkt an Etruskisch denken.

<sup>1</sup> Krahe, *Altilyr. Personennamen* (1929), p. 63. For *laša-*: *Lasson-*, cf. R. *elanu*: L. *Elonius*, R. *va-l-tikinu*: V. *voltiχenei*, R. *Padus*: Lig. *Bodincus* (R.Po).

<sup>2</sup> Cortsen, *Die etruskische Standes- und Beamtentitel* (Kgl. Danske Videnskab. Selskab, Hist. Filol. Meddelelser, xi, 1, 1925), pp. 9, 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Philologica* i (1921), pp. 38 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Prähist. Zeitschr.* 20 (1929), p. 286. Von Planta wrote in 1923, both to Conway

This is exactly the view which I announced in 1923, and which I have yet seen no reason to modify. I admit that *-ke* or *-xe* in the Raetic *tinaxe*, *binaxe*, *binake* is probably identical with the Etruscan preterite ending *-ce*, *-xe*, but not in *φexe*, where Kretschmer and others agree that we have a proper name (*Peccius* or *Beccus*), nor in *luke*, even if that form is complete (cf. *Lucius?*). So in (*P.I.D.*, no. 189)

*laseke maiexe*

two words making a complete sepulchral inscription found at Collalbo, at least one of these two words, if not both,<sup>1</sup> must be a personal name; the names *lašanuale* (Raetic), *lassiko-* (Ven.), *lasinnoar* (Mess.), *lasothihi* (Mess.), *mais* (Raetic), *Maiensis* (Raetic), *mahehe* (Mess.), *mahehos* (Mess.), clearly support the rendering "Lassicus Maiecus (*or* Maiensis) (sc. hic sepultus est)." Here also *-ke*, if not *-xe*, is not verbal. I admit also that *-kvil* in Raetic *tarisakvil* (244.2) is identical with Etr. *-quil* as in *Tanaquil*, that Raetic *tinia* (in 243 bis, a; cf. *tinesma* · 245) may be the Etruscan *Tinia* 'Jupiter,' even if Kretschmer is right<sup>2</sup> in regarding *tin-* (as in *Τινδαρίδα*) as Mediterranean rather than specifically Etruscan. But *aiser* is only as much Etruscan as Etruscan *aisar* itself, which we have seen (p. 189 above) to be at bottom Italic and Indo-European. There are also a few more dubious Raetic forms which conceivably might be reckoned as Etruscan or as borrowed from Etruscan.

Since I wrote in 1923,<sup>3</sup> pointing out that Raetic inscriptions, side by side with Etruscan endings such as *-e*, *-ie*, *-ua*, *-u*, *-nu*, which are frequent, and side by side with the occasional *-al*, which is limited to two texts of the Sandrio group, show also the Indo-European formative suffices *-χinu* (Lat. *-gena*, Gr. *-γενης*, Ven. *-xenei*, Gall. *-knos*) and *-ake* (Italic and Celtic *-āco-*), and Indo-European root-elements, e.g. *luk-* (*Lucius*), *klev-* (*Cluvius*, *Clouatius*, Osc. *kluvatiis*, Illyr. *Vescleues* = Skt. *vaśu-śravas*), Herbig<sup>4</sup> has pronounced his judgement as follows:

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and to me, that he was convinced that Raetic contains Indo-European elements as well as Etruscan.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Ipsen in *Indogerm. Forsch.*, 44 (1926), p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> *Glotta*, 14 (1925), 303.

<sup>3</sup> *C.Q.* 17, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ebert, *Reallexikon* 11 (1927), p. 26.



Von den etrusk.-tirol. Namengleichungen, die Steub gewagt hab, ist kaum eine geblieben. Den Etrusker-Rätern gegenüber gewinnen die *Illyrier-Räter* an Boden,

and he concluded, writing explicitly of the linguistic evidence,

Ob die 'alpine Rasse' in Rätien ligur.-euganeisch ist, lässt sich schwerlich entscheiden; ist sie als Grundstock der rät. Bevölkerung wirklich nachzuweisen, dann haben die nur einzeln oder in versprengten Scharen, als Tauschhändler oder als Flüchtlinge, erst spät und von S. aus in Tirol auftauchenden Etrusker nichts mit der alpinen Rasse zu tun.

Norden writes in a similar strain (*Altgermanien*, 1933, p. 305),<sup>1</sup> in discussing names like the Raetic (Tyrolese) *Celeia*, *Matreio*, or the Raetic *Sumelocenna*, *Clavenna*:

Jeder Gedanke an Etruskisches ist abwegig (so entscheidet sich richtig W. Schulze, *Eigenn.* 280 f.).

Now it is difficult, since the total material is not great in bulk, to determine precisely what the proper classification of the Indo-European elements in Raetic is. My own view is that they are partly Illyrian, partly Keltic, and this view is based on the large proportion of elements in the proper names of the Raetic district and in the Raetic inscriptions which recur in Illyrian and in Keltic. Recently, however, Kretschmer, who also thinks of Raetic as a mixed dialect, partly of Indo-European character, partly of Etruscan character, has advanced the theory that the Indo-European elements of Raetic are closely connected with Umbrian.<sup>2</sup> This difference of opinion, however, leaves unaffected my main contention, that Raetic is not a pure Etruscan dialect, but a language properly Indo-European, that had been affected by Etruscan elements at a late date, perhaps through speakers of Etruscan who had been put to flight by the Gauls, as Livy says. Kretschmer calls attention to Raetic *šnušur*, which he compares with Lat. *nurus*, Skt. *snušā*; to Raetic *estum* which he interprets (as I had done previously) as a demonstrative, "istorum"; to Raetic *lemais*, which he regards as the dat.-plu. of a divine name, a stem in *-ā*; and to Raetic *triahis*, which he explains as *tria(h)is*, that is *\*tri-ais*, dat. plu.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also p. 297, with n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See his paper *Die Etruskerfrage und die Inschriften von Magrè* in *Symbolae Danielsson dicatae*, Uppsala, 1932, pp. 134-142.



fem. of *tri-* 'three.' Kretschmer has thus advanced far beyond my position, for he has discovered something more that is Indo-European in Raetic than mere personal names or formative elements.

When I first printed the Magrè inscriptions fourteen years ago<sup>1</sup> I saw in their frequent *reite*, *ritiei*, *ritie* a divine name, and to this view I still hold, comparing the Venetic *re·i·tia* (not *rehtia*), as Sommer also did the year following (1924).<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that the Magrè inscriptions were found in the remains of the *favissae* of a temple. I also conjectured that in the inscription (*P.I.D.*, no. 229) which I read

*ripie kerrinake*

the divine name is accompanied by an epithet, and that the whole is to be interpreted "R(e)itiae Cereali," assuming that *-rs-* became *-rr-* as in Oscan (*kerrtio-*). This assumption, however, is no longer necessary.

We know that *re·i·tia* was identified with Juno and also that she had some of the attributes of Diana.<sup>3</sup> Indeed there was a certain degree of syncretism of the Roman Juno (as Lucina) and Diana (as Lucifera, or Luna) before the end of the Republic.<sup>4</sup> Now it is striking that Catullus, who was born at Verona, a Raetic city,<sup>5</sup> in his poem (34) addressed to *Diana* makes this very identification, vv. 13 ff.:

Tu Lucina dolentibus  
Iuno dicta puerperis,  
Tu potens Triuia et notho es  
Dicta lumine Luna.

For we have an inscription from Verona (*C.I.L.*, 5.3233) dedicated to

Iuno Luna Regina

making the very same identification. So Horace (*carm. saec.*, 13 ff.) writes (of Diana)

siue tu Lucina probas uocari  
seu Genitalis

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Quart.* 17 (1923), pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Indogerm. Forsch.* 42 (1924), pp. 90 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* 52 (1922), p. 227; cf. *P.I.D.* ii, p. 36 and *J.R.S.* 11 (1921, printed 1923), pp. 245 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Cic., *n.d.*, 2.68; cf. Varro, *L.L.* 5.69, Verg. *Ecl.* 4.10 (with Serv. ad loc.). Testimony of later date is abundant.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny 3, 130.

whereon the commentators have little or nothing to offer, e.g. Gow: "*Genitalis*: this title, whether of Juno or Diana, is not found elsewhere." Excellent! *Juno* (or *Diana*) *Genitalis* is a mystery. Let us see what we can do to find a solution. A well-known Marrucinian inscription<sup>1</sup> records (or prescribes) a dedication

*regen(ai) peai cerie iouia pacrsi*

that is "Reginae piaae cereali Iouiae, (orans) propitia sit." But in the dialects *ker(r)io-* "cerealis" is something more than "Cerealis, pertaining to Ceres," it means rather "genialis, genitalis." So Buck (*Gram.* p. 255): "It must have a wider sense, 'pertaining to the powers of generation,' such as were Ceres and Genius, and might also be translated (with Mommsen) 'Genialis,' since *Genius* was originally, like *Cerrus*, a personification of the power of generation." But in the Marrucinian inscription, who can 'Regina Iouia' be, if not Juno herself? Juno then, as early as the third century B.C., but outside Rome, is "genitalis" or "cerealis"; I say "outside Rome" because, as Bailey has wisely remarked,<sup>2</sup> the reason why Juno is so inconspicuous in early Rome is the very simple one that she was Italic or Latian rather than pure Roman.

Among the dialect-speaking peoples, then, Iouia, that is Juno, Regina was also "Ceria" or "cerealis," that is "genialis, genitalis." But since *re·i·tia* was identified with Juno, it is not astonishing to find her described as *kerrinake*, that is (dat. sg. fem.) "cerrinacae." Then in Raetic territory we have just seen Juno Regina identified with Luna or Diana; so that (*P.I.D.*, no. 223)

*(riti)ei luke*

'Reitiaie Luci (i.e. Luciferae or Lunae)' is in keeping, especially since *Louccianus* and *Leucetius* are already attested as divine names (*P.I.D.* i, p. 459; ii, p. 197), the former at Belluno on the Raetic frontier.

But the 'Bona Dea' of the Romans has some properties in common with Ceres, and with Juno, and indeed with Reitia. She is an earth-goddess, endowed with powers of healing (like Reitia), and a deity of fertility (like Ceres) and of women (like Juno).<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have

<sup>1</sup> *Ital. Dial.*, 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Phases in the Religion of Early Rome* (1932), p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Warde-Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 102-106; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, ed. 2 (1912), pp. 216 ff.

actually held that she was identified with Lucina,<sup>1</sup> though the evidence is slight and hardly convincing. Nevertheless in north Italy<sup>2</sup> she is

Bona Dea Cereria

and here we have an epithet (borrowed from Latin doubtless) that is close to the Raetic *kerrinake*. It is used again, in the same locality, of Magna Mater,<sup>3</sup> and if *Thes. Ling. Lat., Onom.* ii (1910), 345.80-82, is trustworthy, these are the only two known instances of *Cererius* as a divine epithet. But I now think that, unless and until there is evidence that Raetic has *-rr-* from *-rs-* in its own right, *kerrinake* must be considered to have been borrowed from Latin, or from one of the dialects, *cerrino-*, with the further suffix *-ako-* added in Raetic. As a personal name *Cerrinius*<sup>4</sup> occurs only in central and southern Italy; the corresponding personal name<sup>5</sup> in north Italy is not *Cerrinius* but *Cerfonius*, which again must have been borrowed. This last form is interesting in view of Kretschmer's theory of Umbrian traits in north Italy and especially in Raetic. For Umbrian and Paelignian have *serfo-*, *cerfum*, as contrasted with Latin *Ceres*, *Cerus*, Osc. *kerri*, *kerrño-*. At all events there need be no hesitation in seeing in *kerrinake* a Raetic epithet corresponding to Latin "cerealis," that is "genitalis," in meaning. The date of the Magrè inscriptions is not too early to preclude the possibility of borrowing, especially if the borrowing was from a non-Latin source. If it was from Latin itself, then those who are wedded to the theory of Etruscan settlements among the Raeti will remember that the Etruscans may have been the go-betweens; for the famous old Latin inscription<sup>6</sup>

*keri pocolom*

(i.e. 'Ceri poculum,' *Cerigen*. sg. masc.) was found at Vulci in Etruria. But let them not assert that *keri* is Etruscan.

There is one further step in the interpretation of the Raetic texts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.*, 3.3507 (*Bona Dea Iuno*), 6.73 (*Bona Dea Lucifera*), but 6.78 (a dedication to Bona Dea 'ob luminibus restitutis').

<sup>2</sup> *P.I.D.* i, p. 248 (Aquileia).

<sup>3</sup> *P.I.D.* i, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p. 467.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat., Onom.*, ii, 349.26-57; 346.55 (Aquileia).

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* I. ed. 2 (1918), 445.

which, like the last, might have been made by anyone, if only he was willing to use, and if only he knew how to use, the materials assembled in the *Prae-Italic Dialects*. The goddess Feronia was properly Sabine, and Faliscan, and Etruscan;<sup>1</sup> she was "a deity of fertility and plenty,"<sup>2</sup> who is syncretized with Juno at Montona (*Iuno Feronia*, *C.I.L.*, 5.412, cf. *P.I.D.* i, p. 251).

Wenn aber in Aquileia [writes Wissowa]<sup>3</sup> dem einzigen ausserhalb Mittelitaliens gelegenen Orte, an dem die Verehrung der Feronia durch eine Reihe von Denkmälern bezeugt ist, ein *collegium aquatorum* sich als *Feronienses* bezeichnet (*C.I.L.*, 5.8307 f.), so lässt das kaum eine andere Deutung an, als dass sie als Quellgottheit aufgefasst war.

Now this fits in perfectly, not only with the identification of Juno and Reitia, but also with the interpretation of *udisna publica* at the Raetic "pagus Arusnatium" (p. 190 above) as "watering-place" (cf. Skt. *udnā-s* (gen. sg.), Gk. *ὑδωρ*, Umb. *utur*, 'aquam,' *une* abl. sg. 'aquā', the Umb. *t* being merely graphic for *-d-*),<sup>4</sup> even if, what I doubt, *-sna* is an Etruscan rather than a Raetic ending. This *-sna* in fact might well be compared with Umbrian *snāta* 'umecta' (cf. Lat. *nāre*). That there was a cult of the spirits of the springs (*nymphae*) at the "pagus Arusnatium" is explicitly attested by *C.I.L.*, 5.3915. Further, it fits in perfectly with the title of the flamines at the "pagus Arusnatium," *mannisnauius*, whether their ritual washings were of hands (*manus*) or of horses (*mannus*).<sup>5</sup> I incline to the latter interpretation, since *mannus* is a north-Italic word (*P.I.D.* ii, p. 198), and also because the goddess Reitia was greatly interested in horses; we have the remains of many statuettes of horses dedicated to her.<sup>6</sup> Certainly *-snauius* is connected with Umbrian *snāta*.<sup>7</sup> The Magrè text (*P.I.D.* ii, no. 226)

(*reiti*)*e manis*

clinches the whole matter. Here *manis*, as associated with Reitia, may be connected with *mannus* and *mannisnauius*, which is also spelled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ital. Dial.*, pp. 354, 388, 433; Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, ed. 2, pp. 285 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Warde Fowler, *Festivals*, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 286; cf. *P.I.D.* i, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also the local names *Idria* (for *\*Udria*), *Udine*; see Kretschmer, *Glotta* 20 (1931), p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *P.I.D.* iii, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *P.I.D.* i, p. 86, cf. p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> Buecheler, *Umbrica* (1883), p. 131, who, I think, was the first to make this point.



*manisnauius*; or it may be connected with *manus* 'bonus,' and so bring us back to *Ceres* and *Cerus* and *Genita*. In the famous Saliar hymn, as Festus tells us,<sup>1</sup> *cerus* was called *manus*; for *Genita Mana* see Pliny 29. 58, and for the Samnite *deiva geneta* see *Ital. Dial.* 175, the famous Tabula Agnonensis that records for us dedications to Ceres (*kerrf*) and to many other deities associated with Ceres (*kerrtio*-). And last, observe not only that Feronia was closely connected with the Sabines, but also that *Sabini* lived in Raetic territory (*Val Sabbia*, *P.I.D.* ii, pp. 3, 56). These Sabini I do not believe can be accounted for by a "Samnite migration" to the Val Sabbia unless better historical evidence can be adduced than is adduced in Robson's recent article.<sup>2</sup> If it were proved, such a Samnite migration might well account for some of the Italic features of Raetic. But names containing *Sab*-, *Sap*- are so widespread in Venetic and adjoining territory that this ethnicon is better regarded as native. It does, however, suggest an ancient link between the region north of the Po valley and central Italy.

Taken altogether the evidence which I have presented above is conclusive. These agreements between Raetic and Indo-European could not be due to accident or coincidence. Nor would the evidence fit together so well if my interpretation of it were entirely erroneous. It points straight to the conclusion that in addition to some Etruscan features the Raetic dialect contains much that is Indo-European, whether Italic, as Kretschmer holds, or Illyrian and Keltic as I am inclined to believe.

Some people, I know, still think that Raetic is pure Etruscan. Well, some people once thought the text of the Iguvine tables to be pure Etruscan. But here is the *reductio ad absurdum*. Fraser has more than once stated in print his conviction that Etruscan is a closed book, a book sealed with seven seals. If that be so, how does he know that Raetic is a page from that book?

## II

(1) Mr. Fraser says that I have emended the gloss (*Lib. Gloss.* PE 225; see *P.I.D.* ii, p. 251)

*P<a>deligni : stulti*

<sup>1</sup> Festus, ed. Lindsay, *Gloss. Lat.* 4 (1930), p. 249 (p. 109 in Lindsay's edition of 1913).

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Journ.* 29, pp. 599 ff. (cf. 25, p. 340).



to read *Blenni: stulti* “in order to introduce the suggestion that ‘stultus’ is just ‘poor fish.’” This is not true. I corrected that item in the *Liber Glossarum* as long ago as 1923. I have before me a post-card dated 17. vii. 23 and signed W. M. L[indsay] which reads:

*Blenni: stulti* seems right, a Festus-gloss of Abol.

The correction was printed in the British Academy edition of *Lib. Gloss* (1926), to which I gave the reference; but Mr. Fraser is above turning up references. I made the emendation for three reasons. First, because, though *Paeligni: stulti* might be true, it is no more a gloss than *Celticus: stultus*, which also might be true, is a gloss. And second, because, as Mr. Fraser might have discovered for himself if he had taken the trouble to look up my references (*P.I.D.* ii, p. 251), Festus (32.10 L.; cf. Loewe, *Prodromus*, pp. 265 f., which I cited; and now *Gloss. Lat.* iv, p. 136) has:

Blennos stultos esse Plautus indicat.

Plautus indeed does, *Bacch.* 1088:

stulti, stolidi, fatui, fungi, bardi, blenni, buccones.

The Festus-gloss (of Abol.) *Blenni: stulti* was corrupted by some scribe to *bellenni* (see Loewe), and this to *Paeligni*; but then the scribes had not heard of the critics of this world and generation, or they would have been more careful. But why *bellenni*? What is *blennus*? As Lindsay says (*Gloss. Lat.* iv, p. 136), it is “Gr. *βλεννός*, cf. Marx ad Lucil. 1063.” And what is *βλεννός*, pray? The name of a fish, a poor fish. See Athenaeus 7.288 a ap. Kaibel *Com. Gr. Frag.*, p. 162, 43 (which also I cited, *P.I.D.* ii, p. 251). The word came into Italian usage, as so many other vituperative words did, from Sicilian or South Italian comedy. Other such terms which began their careers in the zoölogical gardens, or at least in the wild, are *mula*, *asina*, *simius*, *simiolus*, *belua*, *bestia*, *πίθηκος*, *θηρίον*, which I take from J. B. Hofmann’s *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, ed. 2 (1936), p. 195. He also includes *blennus* (*βλεννός*) in his list. Third, I made the change because it is a correction, a true emendation; not in order to introduce the suggestion that *stultus* is “poor fish.” Plautus and Sophron did that for me.

My critic apparently is not familiar with the expression "poor fish"; I see it is not in *N.E.D.* But even the *N.E.D.* cites "odd fish" and "queer fish" to illustrate the use of "fish," in a derogatory sense, of a person. Wyld, however, gives it in his *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (1932); and it is certain to appear, in due course, in the forthcoming *Chicago Dictionary of American English*.

(2) Mr. Fraser says that I "invent words (e.g. OIr. *dāir* ii. 203)." I could not have invented a better example of critical invention. On p. 203 of vol. ii I did *not* print "OIr. *dāir*"; what I printed is "Ir. *dāir* 'oak.'" Observe the differences. I have before me my original manuscript, and it has "Ir. *dair* 'oak'"; and I am well aware of the difference between *dair* and *dāir*. Now *dāir* is an error, which I should have removed; I am grateful for the correction *dair*, not *dāir*, and I acknowledge it; peccavi. But I added "oak"; and I did not (ii. 203) label the form *Old Irish*, but *Irish*. For that invention, for that "O.", with its *suggestio falsi*, the Jesus Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford is responsible. Those who want accuracy must go to another school; see, for example, Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (1909) i, p. 340:

Air. *daur* . . . und mir. *dair* 'Eiche' (auch für das Air. vorauszusetzen, vgl. *dairde* 'eichen' Sg. 33 b, 13) . . . ist vielleicht durch Kontamination . . . zu erklären; die nir. Nominative form *dair* . . . kann nach dem Gen. *darach* neugibildet sein. [Cf. Thurneysen, *Hdb.*, p. 196.]

Middle Irish *dair*, modern Irish *dair*, old Irish \**dair*, older *daur*. I labelled my form *Irish*, not *old Irish*.

And so far from using, much less inventing, *dair* "for etymological purposes," I expressly cast doubt on the etymology which connects *dair* with *larix*.

(3) Mr. Fraser is of the opinion that the *Prae-Italic Dialects* contains extraneous matter. Meillet is of a different opinion; in the bibliography of his *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, ed. 7, Paris, 1934, p. 501, he describes the work in these terms:

ouvrage fondamental par la richesse de l'information.

Mr. Fraser is of opinion that my edition of the Messapic texts is to be compared (to its disadvantage) with another, in which the readings are

often different; they are indeed. Vetter is of a different opinion (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Suppl. vi, 1935, p. 308):

Die wichtigste Sammlung der messapischen Inschriften stammt von Whatmough.

Between opinions, and between the qualifications of their authors to express them, I am content to let others judge; for my own part I prefer one Meillet to many Frasers, and as for Messapic, Vetter's knowledge of that dialect is masterly. But I will state two facts. (i) Progress in interpreting the dialect-texts has been made, is made, and will be made only by studying every detail concerning the provenance, material, and general character of the actual objects on which the inscriptions are written; by studying every detail of the history of the people who wrote the inscriptions; by studying every detail of their archaeological remains; by the inductive method of comparing different objects on which different inscriptions containing a particular form are written and at the same time considering every external indication of the nature, date, purpose, and language of the inscriptions containing it. Hence Conway and I have assembled the necessary information from original sources. Hence, too, other scholars are already busy anew with Venetic, Messapic, Sicel, and "East Italic." For a purely linguistic method defeats its own end, as manifestly Mr. Fraser is willing to agree, since he has no confidence in it; according to him nothing is known, nothing can be known, about the prae-Italic dialects, about Etruscan, about Raetic, or about Indo-European.

(ii) I have given the Messapic texts precisely as I found them to be, not "emended" them to make them as I should (or might) have liked them to be. Bolling has told the truth (*Language* 12, 1936, p. 219):

With Whatmough's work before him, Ribezzo has published a fascicle of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Messapicarum* (*Riv. I. G. I.* 19, 1935, 57-80) and thus afforded an opportunity of testing the accuracy with which Whatmough has reported the readings of the records — which from the self-imposed limitations of his work is after all the most important question. The test is, as far as it goes, quite reassuring. Whatmough's reports of what he has seen are never questioned; differences arise only where he is dependant on Droop, or where there is a question of choosing between conflicting reports given by early scholars of inscriptions now lost.

The fact is that even in the cases of the last mentioned kind, I have always reported exactly what "early scholars" reported; and I have done so in order to leave the way open for successful restorations as knowledge advances. Ribezzo has made many brilliant and convincing emendations; I regard them with veneration. But they are emendations, not transcripts of mutilated stones or of garbled copies. There are few, if any, problems connected with the non-Italic dialects of ancient Italy that can be considered finally settled, and I should be the last person so to claim. But the facts relating to the questions raised by my critic in his review are now before the reader, and to him I shall leave the judgement.

*Addendum.* — Since this paper was written, I have seen the excellent article by G. Bonfante, *Quelques aspects du problème de la langue rétique*, in *B. S. L.* 36 (1935), pp. 141-154. He also holds that Raetic is Illyrian. (April, 1937.)

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF PH.D., 1936-37

HERRICK MOWER MACOMBER. — *De Licentiis Metricis quae in Canticis  
Sophocleis Reperiuntur*

THIS metrical study of the strophic cantica of Sophocles sets forth all the pairs of corresponding lines which in any manuscript show metrical variation. It is, indeed, the first purpose of this paper to exhibit these verses, from which the adherents of the various metrical schools may, using their own terminology, draw their own conclusions. Now of these variations, some are so common that they have long been recognized as admissible licences; others are eliminated from consideration because the traditional reading violates sense or the rules of grammar; in other cases, especially when the manuscript tradition is divided, the origin of the scribal error which causes irresponsion may be obvious. There are, however, not a few verses in which editors have emended the text of all the manuscripts in order to have exact correspondence of the syllables in the strophe and antistrophe; and it is a second purpose of this thesis to suggest the restoration of some of these well-attested readings.

In the first part of the work, each pair of lines is copied out with its scheme of long and short syllables, and then the variant readings, the emendations, the meaning, and matters metrical and grammatical, as occasion demands, are briefly discussed. The first chapter takes up the dochmiac verses which show variation; the second, the (lyric) iambic, trochaic, cretic, choriambic, and antispastic; the third chapter deals with dactylic, anapaestic, and epitritic verses. Because it is generally recognized that, as a result of the loss of the dance measures and the musical scores, our knowledge of the metre of Greek lyric verse is limited, different analyses are sometimes offered for the same lines. In this paper the accepted metrical classification is based on a consideration of the character of the other verses of the same canticum, the verse-division of the Laurentian manuscript (where this is consistent in strophe and antistrophe), and the forms of variation found in the



given verses. In each metrical class, the examples which show the most common forms of variation are considered first, then the less familiar types, and finally the verses in which some or all of the scribes have obviously gone astray.

In the fourth and concluding chapter there is a brief discussion of the examples of synizesis, and then the forms of variation found in the verses, except those manifestly corrupt, are classified. Because of their similarity to certain common and generally accepted forms of variation, the suspicion arises that the manuscript readings in certain other places have been needlessly emended or rejected. A list of such places, in which future editors would do well to hesitate before they alter the words of the manuscripts, is added; this table indicates the page on which the passage is discussed, the series of syllables that shows metrical inconcinnity, the classification of the variation, and similar or related classes. Every case must be considered by itself, but certain generalizations may be set forth: a "hybrid dochmius" (— — — —) may correspond with any form of the genuine dochmius;<sup>1</sup> Sophocles admitted synizesis more freely than modern editors are wont to believe;<sup>2</sup> a "rest" may correspond to a syllable, especially at the beginning or at the end of a verse;<sup>3</sup> in second Glyconic verses, a long syllable may answer a short syllable in the next to the last position;<sup>4</sup> a choriamb may answer another Aeolic measure, and anapaests and dactyls are admitted in Aeolic verse.<sup>5</sup> An index of all the verses discussed concludes the thesis.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the manuscript reading of *El.* 1243/1264 and *O. T.* 1345/1365.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., ἴω passim; ἄελιος *El.* 824/838 and cf. *An.* 100/117, *Tr.* 825/835; νεκύων *O. C.* 1564/1575.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *O. T.* 1088/1100; *Ph.* 202/211; *O. C.* 1677/1704.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *An.* 1116/1127; *O. T.* 1187/1197b.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *Tr.* 956/965 and *Ph.* 135/150; *Ai.* 634/645 and *O. C.* 186/205; *Ph.* 1131/1154.

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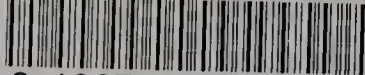
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